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NOTES AND NEWS

IT is with sincere regret that we have to record the death of Sir Edward William Spencer Cavendish, 10th Duke of Devonshire, which took place on Sunday, the 26th of November, 1950, at his home, Compton Place, near Eastbourne.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G., M.B.E.
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In 1920, as Marquess of Hartington, he was made a Trustee of this Library, which is a life appointment.

Born on the 6th of May, 1895, the elder son of the 9th Duke, he was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, and after his father's succession to the dukedom in 1908 took the courtesy title, traditional in his family, of Marquess of Hartington. During the war of 1914-18 he served with distinction in Egypt, Gallipoli and France and worked also at the War Office. Subsequently he served in the British Mission in Paris and was a member of the British Peace delegation. In 1923 he was elected Member of Parliament (Unionist) for West Derbyshire, a seat which he held until, in 1938, he succeeded his father. His distinguished political career was worthy of the traditions of his family and for many years he played a leading part in the affairs of his country. Among the high offices he held were those of Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs (1936-40), for India and Burma (1940-42) and for the Colonies (1943-45). In 1936 he had been appointed Chairman of the Overseas Settlement Board, his tenure of that office being notable for the particular attention he paid to the problem of immigration. From 1919 to 1920 he served as Mayor of Buxton and had been Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire since 1938. In the latter year he was also elected High Steward of Cambridge University and in January

1939 was installed as Chancellor of the University of Leeds, both appropriate offices for the owner of the magnificent Chatsworth library. He took a keen interest in the welfare of the John Rylands Library and throughout his long association with it attended meetings in his capacity as Trustee whenever possible.

In 1917 he married Lady Mary Cecil, daughter of the fourth Marquess of Salisbury. His elder son was killed in action in 1944, while serving with the Coldstream Guards, and the family honours devolve upon his younger son, born in 1920, who assumed the title of Marquess of Hartington after the death of his brother.

The deposit in the Library by Raymond Richards, Esq., of his important manuscript collection was announced in our last number. This collection has now been sorted and arranged, and it is possible to give a fuller indication of its contents. Preliminary Hand-Lists have also been compiled and are available for consultation in the Library, pending publication. The Raymond Richards Collection, as it will be known, consists of three distinct entities: the Keele Muniments, the Bromley-Davenport Papers, and Miscellaneous Historical Materials acquired by Mr. Richards from various sources.

THE
RAYMOND
RICHARDS
COLLECTION.

The Keele Muniments, the family archives of the Sneyds of Keele Hall, co. Stafford, cover seven centuries and form one of the largest and most complete collections of this kind. Almost every type of family record is represented: early charters, manorial and estate documents, inventories, legal papers, business papers (some relating to Staffordshire mines and tileries), and correspondence, both private and official. Included are thousands of title-deeds and allied records concerning properties in over one hundred and twenty places in eighteen counties; the larger groupings relate to Keele, Bradwell, Burslem, Cold Norton, Hulton, Knutton, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Norbury, Norton-on-the-Moors, Sneyd Green, Swinner-

1. THE
KEELE
MUNIMENTS.

ton, Tunstall and Wolstanton, co. Stafford, Christleton and Willaston, co. Chester, and Romney, Kent. Manorial documents occur of Abbey Hulton (1733-1840 *passim*), Keele (1328-1841 *passim*), Newcastle-under-Lyme (1670-71, 1805-09 *passim*), Norton-on-the-Moors (1565-66, 1603-24 *passim*), Rowley (1399-1403), Trentham (1763), Tunstall cum membris (1326-1841), Turley (1685-97 *passim*) and Willaston (1586-1745 *passim*). But perhaps the most interesting feature is the mass of private correspondence, numbering some 4500 items and dating from the sixteenth century to the twentieth. This correspondence should prove a valuable source for the political and social historian, for the Sneyds were in close contact with the leading families of their day. Among the larger blocks, for example, is correspondence of Lady Chester (seventeenth-eighteenth centuries); the Fitzgibbons, Earls of Clare (over 800 letters, eighteenth-nineteenth centuries); Robert Curzon, 14th Baron Zouche, well-known as a traveller and as author of the classic "Visits to Monasteries in the Levant"; the political hostess, Frances, 1st Marchioness of Bute; George, 1st Baron Dover and his wife; Mary, Duchess of Gloucester (d. 1857); the Grevilles (Lady Charlotte, the diarist Charles, and Henry William); the Harrowby family (notably Susan, 1st and Frances, 2nd Countess); Sarah, 5th Countess of Jersey; Prince Augusto Ruspoli; the Sutherland family (particularly the 2nd Duchess, Harriet); the Westminster family (notably the 2nd Marquess and his wife); George Matthew Fortescue (son of the 1st Earl Fortescue); Charles Bertie Percy (son of the 1st Earl of Beverley); Henry Vincent of the Queen's Remembrancer's Office; Charles Baring Wall, M.P.; and Henry Downing Whittington. Over sixty other peerage families are represented in addition to those already mentioned. A particularly valuable section consists of letters and papers on Irish and political affairs (c. 1784-1802) addressed to the statesman and diplomatist William Eden, 1st Baron Auckland. Among individual correspondents of note occurring in the collection are the Irish statesman John Beresford, Canning, Castlereagh, the Irish Under-Secretary Edward Cooke, Peel, Pitt, Lord John Russell, Wellington and Lady Caroline Lamb.

The Bromley-Davenport Papers comprise, firstly, estate papers of Davies Davenport, and, secondly, trading accounts of William Davenport. The former, which fill forty-four volumes dating between the 1770s and the 1830s, include tenants' accounts, stewardship accounts, cash accounts, household expenses, and a fine series of bailiffs' accounts (1783-1835 *passim*), mainly relating to Cheshire. The trading accounts of William Davenport are of particular importance. Contained in sixteen volumes, they consist of eighteenth century Bill Books, Letter Books, Cash Books, Waste Books, Accounts of Bead Sales, Ledgers, and, perhaps most noteworthy, Ships' Books covering over fifty voyages made between 1763 and 1786, the whole providing an invaluable source for the history of the Liverpool slave trade. The Bromley-Davenport Papers have been temporarily loaned by Mr. Richards to Liverpool University, where economic historians are already working on them. On the completion of this work they are to be housed with the rest of the Raymond Richards Collection in our Charter Rooms.

2. THE
BROMLEY-
DAVENPORT
PAPERS.

Mr. Richards' collection of Miscellaneous Historical Materials at present numbers some 4000 manuscript items. The largest single unit consists of muniments of the late Field-Marshal Lord Chetwode; these, which relate mostly to co. Chester, date from the twelfth century onwards. Other family groups are those of Smallwood (co. Chester), Hankinson (co. Chester), Devereux (mainly co. Hereford), and Finch (mostly eighteenth century correspondence). Miscellaneous deeds, papers and allied records concerning twenty other counties also occur, together with many individual documents of interest, e.g. a bull of Pope Urban III. Another section comprises autograph letters and autographs and here, among well-known figures, are holographs of, for example, John Knox (a letter), Tennyson (a poem) and George Borrow (a poem), as well as a collection of letters to Lady Dorothy Neville, of which thirty-three are from Edward VII and thirty from Lord Randolph Churchill. In addition, many miscellaneous manuscript volumes are included,

3. MISCELLA-
NEOUS
HISTORICAL
MATERIALS.

perhaps the most interesting being a Commonplace Book and Diary of Joseph Warburton of Bowdon, co. Chester (1707), a Liverpool Poll Book of 1790, Muragers' Accounts of the City of Chester for 1801-09, a transcript of Cockersand Cartulary made (Feb. 1838) for the famous collector Sir Thomas Phillipps, and a Receipt and Account Book for the Parish of Wildboarclough in the Macclesfield Union, 1836-48. In addition to manuscripts, the Miscellaneous Historical Materials include several file boxes of engravings, prints and drawings (formerly in the library of the Earl of Crawford) and collections of photographs and maps.

In January the Library received a further addition to its already extensive Cheshire materials by the deposit of the valuable High Legh muniments, which have been entrusted to our care by their owner, C. L. S. Cornwall-Legh, Esq., of High Legh House, Knutsford. The existence of this collection has, of course, long been known to students of Cheshire history, but perhaps its extent and importance have not been fully realised, for the bulk of it still remains to be explored. It includes many thousands of documents of all kinds and covers the centuries between the thirteenth and the twentieth. Among the more voluminous sections are deeds of the Leghs of East Hall, the Leghs of Adlington, and the Leghs of Swinehead, in Cheshire, of the Cornwalls of Salop, and of the Chambres of Plâs Chambres in Denbighshire. Many other Cheshire deeds and charters, dating from the early Middle Ages onwards, are also to be found, such as those relating to Alpraham, Chester, Eaton, Goldburne, Hargrave, Knutsford, Lymm, Manley, Mere, Millington, Pickmere, Sale, and Thornton le Moors. Nor is Cheshire the only county represented, for there is an extensive collection of similar materials concerning Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Yorkshire and London, as well as a smaller Lancashire group (chiefly Barton-upon-Irwell, Manchester and Openshaw). Some idea of the field covered and of the variety of documents which occurs may be obtained from the outline printed by Earwaker in his "The Ancient Charters and Deeds

THE
CORNWALL-
LEGH
MUNIMENTS.

at High Legh, Cheshire" (1888), but, it should be added, Earwaker's list deals with only part of the collection now deposited by Mr. Cornwall-Legh. In addition to the materials there indicated, there are several hundreds of both medieval and later deeds and allied records, mostly relating to Cheshire; letters, papers and receipts, including fifty-five file boxes of estate and business correspondence and a series of letters from the famous architect Nash and the landscape-gardener Repton; a considerable number of manuscript volumes (rentals, ledgers, letter books and the like) and journals; and a fine collection of estate and other maps. A detailed examination of the whole is now in process and it is hoped shortly to publish a fuller account of its contents.

Fifteenth century English manuscripts bearing indications of having been "marked for the press" by the early printers are rare. Rylands English MS. 2, a finely executed mid-fifteenth century manuscript of John Lydgate's "Fall of Princes", contains a series of interesting marginal numberings which have recently been examined in this connexion by Miss Margery M. Morgan of Royal Holloway College, who has made a careful comparison of the text with that printed by Pynson in 1494. Miss Morgan has kindly contributed the following account of her findings: "This MS. seems to have been used as the 'copy' for Pynson's 1494 edition of the *Fall of Princes*.¹ Folios 140 (beginning of the Seventh Book) to the end contain a complete series of marginal numbers corresponding to pages within signatures in Pynson's text. At the point where each fresh gathering of the printed book begins, the letter of the signature is also given (e.g. 'C 1' on fol. 149^r., 'D 1' on fol. 156^r). Pynson's book is in eights, except for the last gathering of 3 leaves only; the marginal numbers in the MS. run to 16 each time, but to 6 only at the end. Such a method of marking off pages within signatures was employed by Wynkyn de Worde's

A SPECIMEN
OF EARLY
PRINTER'S
COPY:
RYLANDS
ENGLISH
MS. 2.

¹ This suggestion was communicated privately to the writer of this note by Mr. A. I. Doyle, and so prompted the examination of the MS. on which the following remarks are based.

compositors in the MSS. discussed by Gavin Bone (*The Library*, 4th Ser., Vol. XII), and is to be seen in Bodl. MS. Eng. th. d. 36, from which Pynson printed *Dives and Pauper* in 1493. It seems probable that the marks were originally to be found throughout the present volume: occasional figures remain in the early part of the MS. (e.g. fols. 12^v, 21^v, 22^r, 39^v, 40^r, 40^v, 41^r, 41^v; the signature, 'g l', very faint, can be seen on fol. 42^r, 'm l' on fol. 75^v) and traces of erasure are evident at nearly every place where we might expect similar page numbers, if we assume that the compositor marked off each page as it was set up. The printer himself may have been responsible for the erasures for it is evident that great care was taken with the MS., presumably that it might be returned to a patron in good condition. It is worth noting that a number of tiny, very neat, marginal corrections found in the MS. are included in Pynson's text (e.g. fol. 56^v, last line of 1st col.; fol. 62^r; fol. 144^r, 3 ll. from the end; fol. 156^v); these, too, may be the printer's unobtrusive marks.

"H. Bergen, in the E.E.T.S. edition of the *Fall of the Princes*, has commented on the general textual agreement between Rylands Eng. MS. 2 and Pynson's first edition: 'The text of P 1 was taken from a manuscript very much like Jersey-Rylands, which omitted the Lucrece stanzas, the Rome stanza, the Chapter on the Governance of Poets and the two Envoys to Duke Humphrey, but included all the chapter headings.'¹ This is also the only MS. that includes the 'Grenacres' Envoy printed by Pynson. Indeed, allowing for modernisation and normalisation of forms and a very occasional small printer's error, the texts appear to be identical.

"Pynson may have started with the idea of printing the MS. page for page. His text, like the MS., is arranged in double columns; the first column of fol. 1 in the MS. contains 46 lines, while Pynson's first page has 46 lines to the column and there are 46-47 lines to the column throughout the printed book. This is reminiscent of the way the 1493 text of *Dives and Pauper* reflects the arrangement of Bod. MS. Eng. th. d. 36 in double columns of 37 lines each.

¹ *Lydgate's Fall of Princes*, E.E.T.S., Extra Series, No. 124, part IV p. 106.

"The second column of Rylands Eng. MS. 2 contains 49 lines, however, and the number increases later in the volume. Thus Pynson's text is 3 lines out at the end of the first page, only one line out on fol. a 8 (= MS. fol. 6^r), but elsewhere diverges more and more from the manuscript in this respect. The plan thus proved generally impracticable and was soon abandoned for another system, designed to help the compositor keep his place as he turned to the setting up of each fresh page of type: the consistent ending of each page with the last line of a stanza.

"The very length of the MS., its nearly complete state (one leaf only is missing, between fol. 85 and fol. 86), and the fine condition in which it has survived, give it a place of honour among such specimens of early printer's copy still extant. The care taken of it by Pynson's workmen was not in vain."

During the past six months many books of importance have been added to the Library. Outstanding among them is the beautiful facsimile of "The Book of Kells", published in Bern by Urs Graf Verlag. Of the 339 leaves of the manuscript nearly fifty pages have been printed in colour by Otto Walter, Ltd., of Olten, from colour blocks made by F. F. Schwitter, Ltd., of Basle. They show a great advance on earlier facsimiles of the manuscript and set a new standard in colour reproduction of such books. Equally fine are the pages reproduced in heliogravure by Funke & Saurenmann and Stierli of Zurich from photographs by Fine Art Engravers, Ltd., of London, and the two volumes, delightfully bound in vellum by Olten, form a magnificent example of modern Swiss book-production. They are to be followed by a further volume containing an introduction by Dr. E. H. Alton and an essay on the ornament of the manuscript by Professor Peter Meyer.

Three works of first-rate importance in their respective fields, issued by the British Museum, have been added to the collection. To our palæographical section has been added the long-awaited "Catalogue of additional manuscripts, 1921-1925", while the bibliographical section is greatly enriched by

PRINTED
BOOKS:
ACQUISITIONS BY
PURCHASE.

Part VIII of the "Catalogue of books printed in the XVth century now in the British Museum", which deals, in the masterly manner of the earlier volumes, with books printed in France and French-speaking Switzerland. The first volume, with an accompanying volume of plates, of the catalogue of "Italian drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings", by Mr. Popham and Mr. Pouncey, inaugurates a series planned to cover all the Italian drawings in the British Museum, which will form an invaluable tool for all students of Italian art. The first volume of an important new series, "Monumenta Chartæ Papyraceæ", has also been acquired. Its subject, "Watermarks, mainly of the XVIIIth century", is one which its author, Mr. Heawood, late librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, has made peculiarly his own. To our oriental collection has been added Wensinck's monumental "Concordance de la tradition musulmane".

Efforts have been continued to complete Continental series fallen into arrears during the war. As a result several important sets have been brought up to date, notably "Analecta Vaticano-Belgica", "Franziskanische Studien", "Zeitschrift fuer die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft", "Inscriptiones Italiae", and the "Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Sciences Historiques". The Library has also commenced to subscribe to several additional periodicals, including "Sefarad", "Revue des droits de l'antiquité", and "Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung. Kanonistische Abteilung". In each case it has been possible to obtain a complete set of the periodical.

Several gaps in the collection have been filled from the catalogues of second-hand booksellers at home and abroad. An interesting addition is the catalogue, made by the Duke of Cassano-Serra in 1807, of the early printed books in his possession. Although these books, absorbed into the Spencer collection by the second Earl Spencer, are now in this Library, no copy of this catalogue had hitherto been on the shelves. A copy of Pettersen's great "Norsk Boglexikon", 1908-24, has been acquired, and "Les Psautiers manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France", by the Abbé Leroquais, has been added to that author's splendid series of works on manuscript liturgies

in France. A welcome acquisition is the "Herald and genealogist", 1863-74, by J. G. Nichols; the other genealogical journals edited by him are already in the Library. Other important acquisitions are the "Corpus Sigillorum Neerlandicorum", 1937-40, Gay's "Glossaire archéologique du moyen âge", 1887-1928, and Daniel Gurney's "Records of the House of Gournay", 1848-58, considered to be one of the best family histories written.

Since the last issue of the BULLETIN the Library has acquired 385 volumes by gift, 145 volumes presented by 44 individual donors and 240 volumes by 72 institutions. The Library continues to benefit from gifts in exchange from libraries and academic institutions in many parts of the world, and important gifts of their publications have been received from the Universities of Groningen, of Helsingfors and of Utrecht, as also from Manchester University Press. It has been a great pleasure to receive from the Academia das Ciencias de Lisboa, for the first time since the war, a gift of a considerable number of its publications, and thus to renew exchange relations which had formed a tie between the two institutions for a great many years. Among the institutions with which exchanges have recently been arranged are the Československi Orientální Ustav of Prague, the Société d'Archéologie Copte of Cairo, the Universidad de Santo Domingo and the Libraries of the University of Kentucky.

Certain individual donations are of considerable importance. A number of Hebrew books have been purchased from the Fund established for that purpose by the family of N. Kingsley, Esq. These include a collection (22 volumes) of the works of Zuri-Rezek on Jewish law. To Richard Hawkin, Esq., of Darwen, the Library is indebted for renewed evidence of his interest in its collections. His latest gift is a group of twenty-five volumes containing 270 pamphlets and offprints of archæological, historical and topographical interest relating, for the most part, to Yorkshire. The gift also includes two broadsides, one, of considerable rarity, being "An Account of the Alarming and Destructive Fire at York Minster, with an Extract from the

GIFTS TO
THE
LIBRARY.

Life of Jonathan Martin, the supposed Incendiary", printed by Kendrew, at York, in 1829. There is a fine series of eighteenth century and early nineteenth century guide books to York, Beverley, Whitby, and other towns. There are also interesting Eugene Aram items, and, in a volume of Sheffield pamphlets, an account of a meeting held in that town "to demand an inquiry into the tragical events committed at Manchester on the 16th of August", i.e. the Peterloo massacre.

A most important gift, made by George H. Viner, Esq., F.S.A., of Heathfield, in fulfilment of a promise made to the late Librarian many years ago, is an almost complete collection of the bookplates designed by Charles William Sherborn, R.E. Sherborn served an apprenticeship to a silver-plate engraver and afterwards practised his craft in Paris,

THE VINER
COLLECTION
OF SHER-
BORN
BOOK-
PLATES.

Italy and Geneva before setting up in business in London, in 1856, as a jewellers' engraver. It was a branch of the engraver's profession which gave little scope for his skill, and, as he did not meet with financial success, in 1872 he gave up business in favour of independent work as an engraver and etcher. He gained a livelihood mainly from reproduction-work, although his original etchings have considerable merit. It is, however, in the series of about 450 bookplates which he produced between 1860 and 1912 that his fine engraving technique came into its own. His work with the graver has never been surpassed and his bookplates, mainly armorial, but some pictorial and some including portraits, are highly valued by collectors. Mr. Viner who, with Sherborn himself, prepared the "Catalogue of his Bookplates" which appeared in C. D. Sherborn's "Sketch of the Life and Work" of his father, states that the collection, which comprises 1583 plates in various states and is preserved in ten boxes, lacks seven plates only, the places of which are filled by photographs. The collection is of particular interest in this Library for it contains the bookplates designed for Mrs. Rylands in 1894 and 1898, and the Governors feel privileged to give a home to one of the most complete collections in existence of the work of this distinguished designer.

During the latter half of 1950 the following donors have made valuable gifts to the Library, and to them the Governors of the Library offer their grateful thanks :—

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In addition to these donations a number of learned societies and other bodies have continued to present copies of their periodical publications.

RABBULA OF EDESSA AND THE PESHITTA

BY THE REV. MATTHEW BLACK, M.A., B.D., D.Litt., Ph.D.

LECTURER IN NEW TESTAMENT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

IT is one of the surprises of Syriac patristic studies that, until recently, none of the extant writings of Rabbula of Edessa (*ob.* A.D. 435) has ever been examined for any light the Biblical quotations of that famous Bishop of the Syrian Church might shed on his reputed labours as translator and reviser of the Syriac Scriptures and 'author' of the Peshitta. An attempt to make good this omission has been made in a recent study by Dr. Arthur Vööbus, at one time Professor of Hebrew in the Baltic University of Pinneberg and now at the Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary.¹

Dr. Vööbus is mainly concerned with Rabbula's Syriac version of Cyril of Alexandria's *de recta fide*, a work containing some forty quotations from the Gospels alone.² This Syriac translation can be dated to the closing years of Rabbula's life, when, presumably, his translation and revision of the Scriptures in Syriac had already been completed. Is there any evidence of Peshitta influence in the Gospel quotations of this work? Before answering this question, Vööbus seeks to establish that Rabbula did not translate Cyril's Biblical quotations *de novo* into Syriac, but was in the habit of inserting his own familiar Syriac Biblical text. Investigation of this text then leads to the striking result that Rabbula was using, not the Peshitta, but an Old Syriac form of text. On the basis of this and similar evidence from other sources, Vööbus has gone on to challenge the late F. C. Burkitt's whole theory of the Rabbulan 'authorship' of the Peshitta Gospels, and, for that matter, the entire Peshitta New Testament.³

¹ *Investigations into the Text of the New Testament used by Rabbula of Edessa*, Contributions of Baltic University, No. 59, Pinneberg, 1947.

² Ed. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum*, V, pp. 628 ff.; Migne, P.G., Vol. LXXXVI.

³ *Researches on the Circulation of the Peshitta in the Middle of the Fifth Century*, in Contributions of Baltic University, No. 64, Pinneberg, 1948. Cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. LXIX, Part I, p. 74.

An old controversy is thus revived. In an article on 'The Remaining Syriac Versions of the Gospels' in the *Expository Times* for 1915,¹ Dr. Alphonse Mingana raised several objections to Burkitt's theory. The main support for his view Burkitt had found in a statement of the Syriac biographer of Rabbula, an admiring contemporary, that the zealous Bishop of Edessa, among his other reforms, had 'translated by the wisdom of God which was in him the New Testament from Greek into Syriac, because of its variants, exactly as it was'.² Mingana urged caution in accepting at their face value the statements of Syriac traditionalists, and recalled an even better attested Syrian tradition which attributed a translation of the whole Bible from Greek into Syriac to a certain Maraba, Nestorian Patriarch of Seleucia, in the first half of the sixth century. Dr. Rendel Harris was more favourably disposed to the hypothesis, but still believed that evidence could be produced to show that the Peshitta was in existence in the fourth century, and referred to a forthcoming study of the New Testament quotations in a newly discovered mystical work of the Syrian monk Gregory of Cyprus, a contemporary of Ephrem and Aphraates.³ This promised study did not appear till thirteen years later, but its quotations proved, on examination, to be of the same type as those which Burkitt had found in all other pre-fifth century sources.⁴

It had not apparently occurred to any of these scholars to subject the writings of Rabbula himself to investigation in this connexion, no doubt mainly because of their fragmentary character and the doubts felt about their genuineness,⁵ and the fact that the longest authentic work, the version of the *de recta fide* of Cyril was a translation from the Greek. If Vööbus's

¹ Vol. XXVI, No. 8, pp. 379-381 ; cf. *Expositor*, Ser. VIII, Vol. IX (1915), p. 378.

² Bedjan, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 410.

³ 'Some Notes on the History of the Syriac New Testament', in the *Expositor*, Ser. VIII, Vol. VI (1913), pp. 456-465.

⁴ 'The Biblical Text of Gregory of Cyprus', in *Oriental Studies presented to Paul Haupt*, ed. C. Adler and A. Ember (1926), pp. 410-424.

⁵ One only of the forty-six letters attributed to Rabbula by his biographer has survived, the *Letter to Bishop Gamelinus*, and its authenticity is disputed ; it is also a translation of an original Greek letter. Cf. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 72, and Vööbus, *Researches*, etc., p. 26.

contention, however, is correct that Rabbula does not translate Cyril's New Testament quotations afresh but inserts at each place where a quotation occurs the current Syriac Biblical text, then the Syriac version of Cyril's treatise assumes a new importance in this connexion.

Comparison of the Syriac with the Greek text in Migne does not bear out Vööbus's assertion, at any rate without serious qualification. In one case only (not noted by him) can we be sure that Rabbula is inserting an Old Syriac form of text entire in place of the Greek quotation; this is John iii. 34, discussed below. In other cases it is quite evident that Rabbula is translating Cyril's Greek, even including Cyril's own expansions of the canonical text.¹ Even where a variant is attested in Old Syriac sources only, this translation factor cannot be ruled out.² The most that can be said for Dr. Vööbus's view is that Rabbula's Syriac equivalents of Cyril's quotations have been influenced by the current form of the Syriac vernacular Scriptures.

Even this, however, is something, and may furnish enough evidence on which to form a judgment of the character of Rabbula's New Testament, and Dr. Vööbus has rendered scholarship a valuable service in drawing attention to the undoubted presence of an Old Syriac textual element in these quotations, and to the wider problem thereby raised. Mt. xvii. 5

¹ Mt. xviii. 20 (670, 1176), is introduced in Cyr^G., followed by Cyr^S., by verse 18a, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you'. In verse 20, Cyr^G. reads *συναχθῶσι* instead of *συνηγμένοι* of all Greek texts; in rendering by an imperfect , instead of by the participle (*συνηγμένοι*) of all the older Syriac versions, it is evident that Rabbula is translating his Greek original. Mt. xix. 4 (680, 1185) has the variant in Cyr^G. of *πλάσας* for *ποίησας*, again a reading confined to Cyril; this is reflected in Rabbula's translation (for). The addition here in Cyr^S. of ('male and female created he them *and blessed them*') is not, however, in our text of Cyr^G. Jn. vi. 31, 30, 32 (quoted in this order and so translated into Syriac) (684, 1189) contains an expansion of the Greek text, probably Cyril's own.


² Mt. xxviii. 19 (638, 1144) contains an 'Old Syriac' variant which Vööbus traces in a number of sources (, 'preach', for syr. vg. , 'teach'), but the 'variant' may have arisen through the influence of the translation of *ἐκπύχθη* in the quotation of I Tim. iii. 16 a few lines before.

(681, 1185), quoted with a characteristic Old Syriac variant, is sufficient by itself to give us pause.¹

In dealing with the problem thus raised, Dr. Vööbus confines himself, for the most part, to the discussion of the seven most striking examples where this Old Syriac textual element occurs.² For the rest of his analysis of these quotations his results only are given. They may be summarised as follows : of some thirty Gospel quotations in the treatise (I have counted forty), one-third agree with Old Syriac textual tradition ; one-third have peculiar Syriac readings not found in any other known sources, and the remaining third agree with the Peshitta where the latter is itself in agreement with syr. vt. Two quotations only are cited as being in agreement with the Peshitta against the Old Syriac, S and C (Jn. xiv. 9 (649, 1156) x. 30 (669, 1173)), of which the first is too short and colourless to admit of any conclusions, while in both cases we can only compare them with S (C vac.).³ The evidence as a whole points, Dr. Vööbus thinks, to the employment by Rabbula, not of our Peshitta, but of some form of the Old Syriac Gospels.





I have submitted these quotations to a similar analysis and reached a different conclusion. Examination of the quotations gave the following picture :

(a) Eight examples agree practically verbatim with the Peshitta against S and C ;⁴ six more agree with Peshitta against S and C but have some individual feature or features of their

¹ Cf. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, Vol. II, p. 116, and 'S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospels', in *Texts and Studies*, Vol. VII, p. 28. The variant  is found at both Mt. iii. 17 and xvii. 5 : Vööbus mistakenly refers the Rabbulan quotation to iii. 17 (*Investigations*, etc., p. 10).

² Three further examples deal with the text of the Epistles (*Investigations*, etc., pp. 13 ff.).

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁴ Jn. i. 1-3 (687, cf. 646 ; 1193, 1152) ; vi. 51 (684, 1189) ; ix. 35 (678, 1184) ; xiii. 13 (694, 1200) ; xiv. 9, 10 (649, 669, 676 ; 1156, 1173, 1181) (example given by Vööbus ; cf. *supra* and *op. cit.*, p. 27) ; xiv. 28 (669, 1173) ; xx. 22 (683, 1188) ; xx. 30, 31 (679, 1184) (om. *μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα ἐτ' ἐνώπιον τῶν μαθητῶν*, syr. vg. +  ante  post ). Add Mt. xxviii. 20 (670, 1176) (vac. SC) ; Lk. i. 30 (637, 644, 671 ; 1141, 1149, 1176) (syr. vg.  ܝܐ) (vac. SC).

own.¹ Thus 14-17 or 35-42 per cent. agree with our Peshitta against the Old Syriac. It is not always possible to decide whether this agreement with Peshitta is anything more than accidental; a literal *ad hoc* translation of Cyr^G. may have resulted in a text identical with our Peshitta. But in others the influence of the Peshitta translation is unmistakable, e.g. Jn. i. 3, ܐܠܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ rendering παντὰ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο.² Jn. xvii. 11-13 (670, 1176) is a good example of a longer text which is close to the Peshitta yet with individual variants which correspond neither to Cyr^G. nor to any known Syriac version; the clause οὓς δέδωκάς μοι . . . καθὼς ἡμεῖς is inserted c. Cyr^G. syr. vg. contra S (vac. C) but later Cyr^S. omits the second οὓς δέδωκάς μοι of Cyr^G. The translation of the last clause is manifestly derived from syr. vg.; S has a quite different rendering.

(b) A further group of seven quotations agrees with the Peshitta where the latter itself agrees with one or both of our two Old Syriac witnesses;³ five more are of the same type, with one or more individual features not traceable elsewhere.⁴

(c) The last group consists of eleven quotations and includes the seven 'Old Syriac' quotations discussed by Vööbus.⁵ For the most part they show traces of the influence of *both* Peshitta and Old Syriac. In one case only can we be said to have anything like a pure Old Syriac text, viz. Jn. iii. 34 (683, 1188), ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܠܗ ܕܝܗܝܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ, 'and not with measure

¹ Jn. i. 12, 13 (679, 1185); vi. 56, 57 (584, 1189); viii. 39, 40 (666, 1172); viii. 57, 58 (646, 690; 1152, 1196); xii. 44, 45 (677, 1181); xvii. 11-13 (670, 1176) (discussed above). Add i. 49 (694, 1200) (vac. SC).

² Cf. further, Jn. xiv. 9, 10 at 649, 1156, xx. 22, 693, 1188.

³ Mt. xiv. 33 (674, 1180); xxxiii. 9 (680, 1185); Jn. vi. 53 (684, 1189) (om. ἐν ἑαυτοῖς); x. 30 (649, 669, 676; 1156, 1173, 1181). (This is the second example given by Vööbus of a characteristic Peshitta reading; cf. *supra* and *op. cit.*, p. 27. But the variation is orthographical only, Cyr^S. = syr. vg., ܐܝܬܝܢ, S ܐܝܬܝܢ, and no importance can be attached to it); xiv. 6 (650, 1156); ix. 36-38 (678, 1184); xiv. 8 (649, 1153).

⁴ Mt. xxiii. 8 (680, 1185); Jn. i. 30 (690, 1196); x. 37 (676, 1181); xvii. 1 (675, 1180). Add Jn. xvii. 11 (670, 1176); S omits this part of the verse.

⁵ Mt. iii. 11 (681, 1188); xvii. 5 (681, 1185); xxii. 29 (638, 1144); Lk. ii. 11, 12 (639, 1144); ii. 14 (638, 1144); Jn. i. 18 (678, 1184); iii. 9, 11 (660, 1165); iii. 9, 12, 13 (685, 1192); iii. 34 (683, 1188); iv. 22 (675, 1180); vi. 61, 62 (685, 1192).

(i) Group (a) makes it certain that Rabbula's translation of Cyril's treatise has been influenced in its Gospel quotations by the Peshitta. The Peshitta revision of the Gospels was, therefore, available when Rabbula translated the *de recta fide*; we have no reason to doubt and every reason for believing that it was his own revision that the Bishop of Edessa was utilising.

(ii) It is no less certain, however, that Rabbula is drawing on Old Syriac text forms in his translation of Gospel quotations. If Jn. iii. 34 were the only evidence we had, it might be possible to urge that Rabbula had simply recalled this Old Syriac text from memory and inserted it, instead of the usual Peshitta text, at this point. But such a theory cannot account for the other evidence of mixed texts, with Peshitta and Old Syriac elements side by side. Unless we are satisfied with the view that Rabbula is making up his Syriac text as he goes along, drawing now on his memory of the Peshitta, now on that of the Old Syriac, some alternative explanation of these textual phenomena must be given. I suggest that the true explanation of this mixed Peshitta-Old Syriac text or influence in Cyr^S. is that, in fact, Rabbula is drawing throughout on his revision of the Syriac Gospels but that Rabbula's Syriac Vulgate was not identical textually with our Peshitta, but still contained a not unsubstantial Old Syriac element. His revision was a kind of half-way house between the Old Syriac represented by S and C and the final and definitive form of the Syriac Vulgate which has come down to us.

The first revision of the Old Syriac version was probably that represented by the Curetonian fragments. The quotation from Jn. iii. 34 above agrees verbatim with C, and this might point to the Curetonian text as the Rabbulan revision. There are, however, grave objections to such a theory; other Old Syriac readings in these quotations do not agree with C, and, in any case, the evidence of reminiscences of the current vernacular Syriac Bible, however striking, can never be wholly satisfactory, especially in a question of such weight. The most that can be said, on the basis of the few convincing examples which can be given, is that Rabbula's revision probably comes somewhere between attempts to revise the Old Syriac, such as we find in C, and the final definitive Peshitta text which has reached us.

Such a conclusion in no way affects Burkitt's main position that Rabbula was responsible for an authoritative revision of the Syriac New Testament, in the case of the Gospels, a revised *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, issued during the time he was Bishop at Edessa. Indeed, that position is, if anything, strengthened by the evidence of Cyr^S. But it does challenge the assumption universally made by scholars that Rabbula's revision of the Gospels has survived intact and without verbal alteration or variant in our Peshitta text.

SAMARITAN DECALOGUE INSCRIPTIONS

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SOMETIME about 1863 an inscription in Samaritan characters was presented to the Leeds Philosophical Society by the Rev. Joseph Hammond. The donor had received this inscription from the Samaritan High Priest in Nablus to keep it for preservation in a safe place.¹ We may assume that this stone had been found in the vicinity of Nablus, the ancient centre of the Samaritan community.²

An impression of that stone was furnished to Wright who published a short note on it in P.S.B.A. 1883.¹ His investigation proved that the inscription contained an abbreviation of the Ten Commandments, based on the Decalogue of the Samaritan Pentateuch, a version which differs in some respects from the Jewish reading as well as from the Greek. The extant slab of stone proved to be the lower right part of the inscription. This is evidenced by the fact that the remaining fragment contains parts of the 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th Commandments.³ Wright attempted a restoration of the inscription which has been slightly improved in the version given below.

When the writers of this article, bent on making a closer investigation of the inscription, looked for it in Leeds City Museum, where it had been deposited, the stone could not

¹ P.S.B.A. 1883, 6th (November), pp. 25-26.

² This inscription will be designated in this article the Leeds Decalogue Inscription (i.e. L.D.).

³ An unsatisfactory reproduction of the stone was printed in J. A. Montgomery's *The Samaritans*, p. 275, 1907.

be found. It was, eventually, "rediscovered" amongst other monumental slabs which had been moved from the Museum precincts during the war.

The fragment is, roughly, of quadrangular shape, measuring 16·5 inches at its maximum height and 14·4 inches at its width. The upper right-hand corner is missing. There is a further dent in the, otherwise, nearly straight line of the break. This dent accounts for four full letters and parts of two more which are now missing at the beginnings of lines 5-8. The left-hand side of the stone presents at first the impression of completeness, having been chiselled rather neatly by the mason, especially so at the lower corner. This fact induced the present writers to advance tentatively a theory that this stone is but one of a double-tablet containing an abbreviation of the Ten Commandments, a form which is commonly found in Jewish Synagogues.¹ But, bearing in mind that no proof for a similar Samaritan practice could be provided, this theory had to be abandoned. A more detailed study of the characters at the end of the lines showed, moreover, that the chiselling of the left-hand side is of secondary origin. The extreme left parts of these letters in lines 9-10 were lost in the process. This inscription has met the fate of many others, particularly in the Middle East.² After having been broken, presumably, in wake of the destruction of the building in which it was kept,³ later generations made use of it. The unknown mason who wanted to avail himself of the neatly hewn slab (or slabs) straightened the uneven edge in order to fit the stone into its new surroundings. It seems, therefore, that the breakage of the upper right-hand corner has occurred in a third period, after the stone had been taken out of its "adopted environment".

The smoothness of the base and the considerably smaller

¹ This practice is based on the Biblical statement that the Ten Commandments had been written on two tablets when delivered to Moses (Ex. xxxii, 15; Deut. iv, 13; x, 34). A similar division is mentioned in Midrash Ex. Rabbah xli. Compare as well Josephus A. J. iii; v, 4; Philo, De Decalogo xii.

² See account of further Samaritan inscriptions in the continuation of this article.

³ Wright supposed that this inscription, as well as others of the same kind, were placed originally in Samaritan Synagogues. (See *op. cit.*)

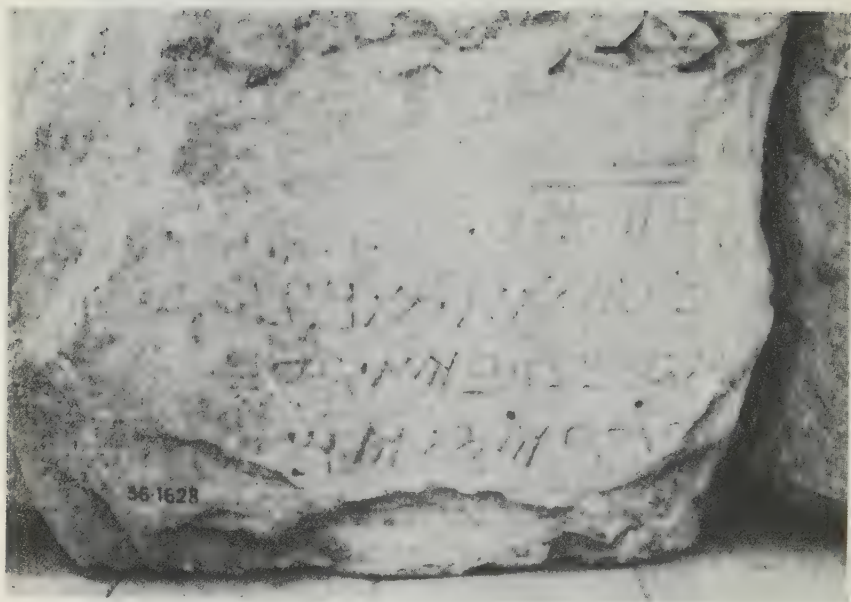


THE LEEDS SAMARITAN DECALOGUE INSCRIPTION

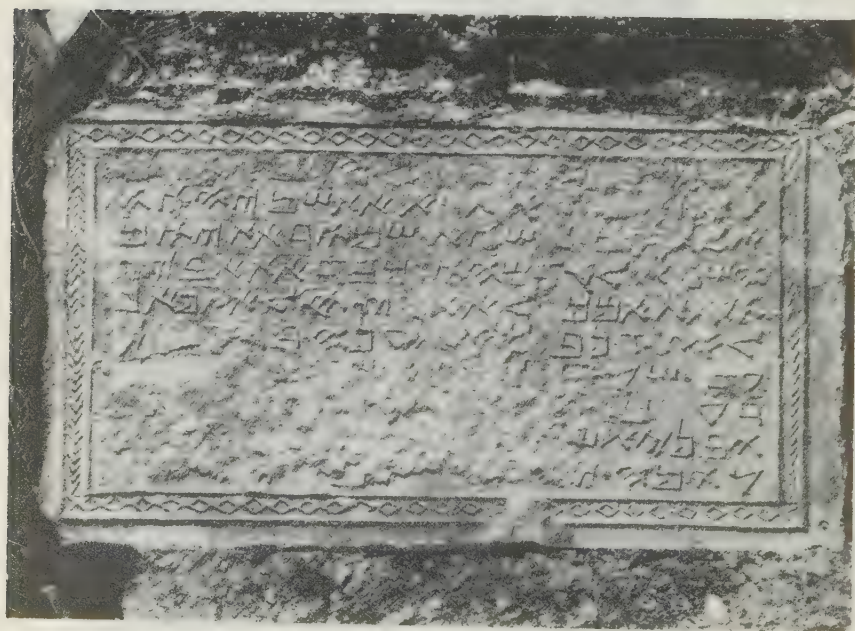


THE SAMARITAN DECALOGUE FROM SYCHAR

(identified and photographed by Dr. Bowman, Sept. 1950)



THE PALESTINE MUSEUM SAMARITAN DECALOGUE INSCRIPTION
(left hand fragment)



THE NABLUS SAMARITAN DECALOGUE INSCRIPTION

characters in the last line¹ which resulted from lack of space, indicate that nothing is missing at the lower part.

The material used by the scribe is rather soft, some sort of limestone which is very common in the geological layer stretching from south of Hebron to the vicinity of Beisan in the north.² The surface betrays traces of crumbling which resulted in certain letters being nearly obliterated though engraved into the depth of the stone.

The stone, as found to-day, contains the remnants of ten lines. Nine of these are complete in height. Of the top line only the bases of the letters $\eta \varpi \tau$ are preserved. The lines are marked throughout by an incision into the surface. This incision is broader and deeper between lines 9-10 than between the others where they are generally of similar shape.

In accordance with otherwise substantiated practice the letters on this inscription are not placed above the line but depend from its lower side.³ The upper strokes of certain letters, especially λ , ν (see lines 3, 4, 7, 8), protrude sometimes above the incision. A point as word-divider is employed throughout.⁴ In each of lines 3, 4, 5, 6 one case of a colon is to be found; this indicates in line 3 the end of the 6th Commandment, but comes in lines 4 and 5 in the middle of Commandments 8 and 9, parting the verbal clause from the rest of the sentence. This suggests that the scribe carried on, in a mechanical fashion, or out of a craving for harmony,⁵ the system employed in Commandments

¹ It will be pointed out that the last line was presumably added by a second hand.

² A. J. Braver, *Eretz-Israel* (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1950, map facing p. 16.

³ The same technique is employed, amongst others, in the "Dead Sea Scrolls" and is easily recognisable in the "Habakkuk Scroll". See M. Burrows (editor), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, 1950.

⁴ This is a regular feature of Samaritan Pent. MSS.

⁵ The extraordinary quest for harmony results in certain scribal peculiarities which are conspicuous in Samaritan Pent. MSS. Identical letters in adjoining lines are written, whenever possible, in a vertical column. This involves often a special spreading of words. Short lines are "closed" by pushing the last or the two last letters (there seem to be extant two differing systems) right up to the end, separating them from other letters of the same word. Open spaces are, therefore, found in the middle of lines and not at the end. This system is employed in the Nablus Decalogue Inscription and is presupposed for the Leeds Stone as well in the restoration suggested. [Continued over page.]

5, 6, 7. Similarly to לא תנאף: לא תרצח: he read לא תענה: לא תחמד: ¹ in lines 4 and 5 respectively.

The characters are somewhat unequal in size. The average height in lines 2-5 is decidedly larger than in lines 7-9. Line 6 contains the largest samples. This seems to indicate that the scribe did not measure out his tablet beforehand. When coming near the bottom of the stone he recognised his miscalculation and started crowding the lines. The bottom line, no. 10, is presumably a later addition. As stated above, it is divided from the main body of the inscription not only in content, but by a specially deep and coarse incision. The letters are, moreover, considerably smaller and slightly different in shape. The upper stroke of the ל in this line is bent backwards towards the left, whilst in the remaining lines this stroke is practically perpendicular (line 3) or has a certain inclination towards the right (line 7). The surface appearance of this stroke is wedge-like in line 10, while in the remaining lines it is more rectangular. The letters were apparently engraved by the aid of a triangular stylus, which produced an incision similar to an inverted prism, broad on the stone-surface and running into one line in the depth of the engraving. The dividers and colons were made by a pointed stylus leaving an inverted cone-like impression on the stone.

Attention shall be drawn to the additional strokes at the bottom lines of letters מ, נ, פ which seem to be peculiar to our scribe(s) and which we could find only in the Nablus Decalogue inscription, to be discussed below.

Transcription of the text: ²

1 [השבת · לק] ד ש ה [ו: כבד · א ת ·]
2 [אביך ·] ואת · אמך: לא · תרצח:

A typical example of this harmonising tendency can be consulted in the John Rylands MS. of the Samaritan Pentateuch. In the Decalogue version Deut. v all the Commandments beginning with לא are written in a fashion which brings this word in adjoining lines into one vertical column in the middle of the lines. In Ex. xx this column appears at the beginning of the lines.

On textual harmonisation in the two Decalogue copies see below.

¹ According to this suggestion we would have expected a colon in line 6, after לא תחמד. But there the ordinary point is employed.

² Restored letters are placed in brackets, partly legible letters are indicated by a superimposed dot.

3	[לא . ת]נאף : לא . תגב : ל	א .
4	[תע]נה : ברעך . עד . שקר : ל	א .
5	[ת]חמד : בית . רעך : ול	א .
6	[ת]חמד . אשת . ר[עך] : ובני	ת .
7	[שם] . מזבח . ל[יהוה] . אלהי	ך .
8	וכתבת . על . האבנים . את . כל .	א .
9	התורה . ה[ז]את . באל . היט	ב :
10	[תורה : צו]ה : לנו : משה : מורשה : קהילת : יעקב :	

Deut. xxvii. 5

Deut. xxvii. 8

Deut. xxxiii. 4

The restoration is based on the traditional text of the Samaritan version of the Decalogue and concurrent comparison with the Nablus Inscription.

The possibility remains open that the lines were “closed” by two letters or even whole words. In the last case we would not need to divide אלהיך (line 7), the division of which is often avoided. This would result, moreover, in a more pronounced structural harmony. Lines 3, 4, 5 would end with the same word—לא—in addition to the similarity at the beginning of lines 4, 5, 6 the letter ת and 5, 6—תחמד. The word רעך in these two lines is put as well in an identical position.

The average number of letters in lines 1-9 is fifteen.¹ (The case of line 10 is different, as indicated above.) In line 8 we count seventeen letters if the reading, proposed here, is correct. This suggestion differs from the text found in Sam. Pent. MSS. where “את כל דברי התורה הזאת” is read, which, if accepted, would require a line containing twenty-one letters and, therefore, a considerably broader stone. There is no possibility of comparison with other Decalogue inscriptions as this passage is quoted only in the Leeds stone. The departure from the official Samaritan text is justified on grounds of other deviations to be found in this inscription as specified below.

Presuming that the missing top lines of our inscription showed the same abbreviated text as the Nablus inscription,²

¹ 12 in line 5; 14 in line 3; 15 in lines 1, 4, 6; 16 in lines 2, 7, 9; 19 in line 8.

² The Palestine Museum inscription of the Samaritan Decalogue (i.e. P.D.) has a different arrangement of Commandments 1-3, as will be shown below. But certain similarities between the Leeds and the Nablus stone (to be pointed out later on) justify the proposed basing of the restoration on the Nablus version (i.e. N.D.).

we would require fifty-four letters to be added, i.e. four lines on the average of thirteen to fourteen to a line, or three on the average of eighteen letters. The first possibility is adopted here.¹

[. ם	לא . יהיה . לך . אלהי	A
[. אחרים . על . פני :	לא . תשא .	B
[. ך	את . שם . יהוה . אלהי	C
[. ם	לשוא : שמור . את . יי	D

We suppose, therefore, that the full inscription contained fourteen lines on a slab measuring c. 20 inches in width and c. 20·6 inches in height.

The quotation of Bible passages in extremely shortened forms seems to have been a rather common practice. This is easily explained in the case of stone inscriptions where the unwieldy material imposed a "laconic" style. In the Leeds and in other Decalogue inscriptions the sentences and passages are indicated by similar catch-words, which enable even the average, non-scholarly reader to fill up the gaps without difficulties, especially in well-known texts, such as the Ten Commandments, which were part and parcel of the traditional instruction to which every Jew was submitted. But this tendency was carried even further in other Samaritan inscriptions, apparently some sort of amulets, where only the initial letter of the word was given and the restoration left to the reader.² It is therefore the more astonishing that the Samaritans see fit to deny any connection with these abbreviated versions of the Ten Commandments. The now acting High Priest denounced the Leeds inscription as a Jewish hoax, when Dr. Bowman showed him a photostat copy. Rosen, who wrote nearly a hundred years ago, has to relate a similar experience.³ This might be irrelevant, bearing in mind that Samaritan behaviour in dealing

¹ In this restoration word-dividers and colons were employed at the end of lines. This is not a generally accepted rule in Samaritan manuscripts but is commonly done in inscriptions. Compare A. Mursil, *Sieben Samaritanische Inschriften aus Damaskus*. Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Bd. CXLVII, Abhandlung I; J. A. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, plates 1-7, 10-12; J. Ben Zevi, *Sefer Ha-Shomronim* (Hebrew), 1935, plates 7, 9.

² See Musil, *op. cit.*

³ Rosen, *op. cit.*

with foreigners is influenced, sometimes by very obvious monetary, sometimes by rather obscure reasons. But it might, on the other hand, point to a comparatively early date for this practice, the memory of which has been lost.

The abbreviated text is easily intelligible. In lines 4 to 6 the Ten Commandments are given in the Samaritan fashion which joins Commandments 1 and 2 into one, thus making way for the additional clause which proclaims the holiness of Mount Gerizim. This passage is drawn, mainly, from Deut. xxvii, 2-8, with some variations from the Massoretic text,¹ the most important of which is the reading Gerizim for Ebal in verse 4. This passage is represented on the Leeds tablet by verse 5a : וכתבת על : (lines 6-7) and verse 8 : וכתבת על : (lines 8-9).
 וכתבת על : (lines 6-7) and verse 8 : וכתבת על : (lines 8-9).

II

Besides the Leeds stone three more Samaritan Decalogue inscriptions are extant. Mention has been made already of the Nablus Decalogue which was found in the wall of a minaret attached to the Chizn Yakub Mosque in Nablus.² This inscription is still fixed, upside down, in the wall of this mosque. That building is erected near the place where formerly, according to Samaritan and Arab evidence, a Samaritan Synagogue stood. The inscription hails, apparently, from this Synagogue and was used after the latter's destruction as material for the erection of the Muslim minaret. A close inspection of the stone, by the present writers, produced particularly poignant evidence that the stone has had a "Christian past" as well. Inside the letter ע of רע, the very first word in line 8, the sign of a cross is discernible. This has been completely overlooked by previous writers, though the sign is clearly recognisable even in Montgomery's unsatisfactory reproduction. The letter ע has in the Samaritan alphabet a triangular shape, which is similar

¹ See below.

² An account of the discovery and a photographic reproduction are given by Montgomery, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-273. For further details consult articles by Blau and Rosen, mentioned above.

to certain stages of the Hebrew *ayin* in Jewish inscriptions. A cross put into this letter produces a striking likeness to a crusader's shield—†. The sign was probably engraved on the stone by a Christian mason, apparently of the Crusaders' period. This is the more likely since the minaret reminds one of a Norman church-tower.

The restored text of the Nablus Decalogue runs as follows :

- 1 [לא . יהיה . לך] אלהים . [אחרים .]
- 2 [על . פני] : לא . [תש]א . את . שם . יהוה .
- 3 אלהיך . לשוא . שמור את . יום .
- 4 השבת . לקדשהו : כבד . את . אביך .
- 5 ואת אמך : לא . תרצח : לא . תנאף :
- 6 לא . תעב : לא . תענה . ברע [ך]
- 7 עד . שקר : לא . [תח]מד . בני [ת]
- 8 רעך : [ולא תחמד אשת רעך]
- 9 ובנית שם . מזבח ליהוה אלהיך .
- 10 קומה . יהוה . [שובה . יהוה]

Num. x. 35-36

In order to make possible a comparison with the other two inscriptions, the texts are given below.

The Palestine Museum Decalogue was discovered in 1935 in the vicinity of Nablus, after a heavy rainfall which washed away the covering soil. The stone is a comparatively long slab which served, presumably, as a lintel. It is now broken into two parts.

[אנכי . יהוה .] אלהיך . לא . יהיה . לך . אלהים . [אח]רים . על . פני .
 [שמור . את . יום : השבת . לקדשהו . כבד . את .] אביך . ואת .
 [אמך .] לא .
 [תרצח . לא . תנאף . לא . תעב . לא . תענה . ברעך . עד . ש]קר . לא
 תחמד . בית . רעך
 [התורה . הזאת .] אשר . אנכי . מצוה . אתכם . היום . [בה]רגרזים .

While on a visit to Nablus during the summer of 1950 Dr. Bowman was shown a stone at Bir Yakub (Sychar) which he identified as still another Samaritan Decalogue inscription, which had not been recorded until now. It is a rough limestone, measuring approximately 1 ft. by 1 ft. and is of about the same thickness. The inscription reads :

- 1 [כבד • את • אבִיךָ •]
- 2 • [ואת •] אִמְךָ • לא •
- 3 • [ת]רִצָּח • לא •
- 4 • [ת]גָּאֵף • לא • תַּעֲבֹב •
- 5 • [לא •] תַּעֲנֶה • בִּרְעֶךָ •
- 6 • עַד • שִׁקְרָ • לא •
- 7 • תַּחֲמַד • וּבִנִּית •
- 8 • שֵׁם • מִזְבֵּחַ •
- 9 [לִי]הוֹה • [אֱלֹהֶיךָ] •

III

A comparison of the four stones furnishes the following facts : (see table below).

Virtually the same abbreviated text is employed in Commandments 4 (the observance of the Sabbath¹) to 8 ("neither shalt thou bear false witness . . ."). This might point to a fixed tradition, in respect of this part of the Decalogue, which affected even the abbreviated text and made it uniform.²

On the other hand, the first three Commandments which are extant only on two of the stones (Nablus and Palestine Museum) are quoted with an interesting variation. The Nablus Decalogue has no trace of Ex. xx, 2 as part of the First Commandment, which verse is treated in the Samaritan MSS. as a preamble to the Decalogue. This arrangement is maintained in von Gall's edition where verses Ex. xx, 3-6 are enumerated by the letter '*alef*'.³

The Palestine Museum inscription starts off with what is definitely taken from the official Jewish First Commandment (Ex. xx, 2). It has, after that, as its Second Commandment verse Ex. xx, 3 in exactly the same form as the Nablus stone, which latter treats this phrase as First Commandment. But the Jewish Third, "thou shalt not take the name of Lord thy

¹ This Commandment would come at the top of the Sychar stone, where it is unfortunately missing. The text can be easily fitted in.

² It shall be pointed out that this is not the case with regard to Commandments 1-3, the Tenth Commandment and the Samaritan additional clause.

³ The numbering of the Ten Commandments by aid of the first ten letters of the alphabet is often employed in Samaritan MSS.

God in vain", which is the Samaritan Second Commandment, is omitted in the P.D. while it is found in the N.D. This seems to suggest that P.D. included in its Second Commandment by implication Ex. xx, 7, the Jewish Third Commandment.

It shall be pointed out that in Jewish and Christian circles varying ideas about the arrangement of the first three Commandments were held. The official Jewish view takes Ex. xx, 2-3 to be the First Commandment, followed by verses 4-6 as Second.¹ But R. Ishmael² (second century A.D.) counts verse 3 as the First Commandment, viewing verse 2, apparently, as a preamble, in complete agreement with Samaritan practice. A similar system is adopted by Josephus and Philo³ who count verse 3 as Commandment 1, verses 4-6 as Commandment 2 and verse 7 as Commandment 3.

The Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches agree with this view in regarding verse 2 as a preamble. Verses 3-6 become thus the First Commandment and in order to make up the required number "Ten", the last Commandment is divided into, no. 9: "Neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's wife"—no. 10: "Neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's house, etc." A parallel system seems to underly the division into "petuhoth" and "setumoth" in Deuteronomy v.⁴ The first parashah includes verses 6-10. The second parashah comprises verse 11. According to this arrangement only two Commandments are counted before "Observe the sabbath day . . ." whereas the Jewish tradition embodied in Babli Makkoth, Mekhilta and Pesikta Rabbati requires here three Commandments.

The parashah system in Deuteronomy has therefore a division between "neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's wife" and "neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's house", achieving thus the required number "Ten". To this conforms the

¹ Babli Mak. 24a; Mekhilta (ed. Friedmann), p. 70b; Pesikta (ed. Friedmann), p. 106b.

² Sifre to Num. xv, 31.

³ Flavius Josephus, A. J. vi. v. 5; Philo, De Decalogo xii.

⁴ In Deut. v the Massorah of Ben Asher (ed. Kittel) and Ben Naftali coincide with regard to this division. Ben Naftali employs the same division in Ex. xx as well. But Ben Asher has in Ex. xx a different arrangement. See table.

Roman Catholic Church practice. The Protestant Churches, the Lutheran excepted, follow the official Jewish tradition which takes "neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's wife, neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's house, etc." as one Commandment.

As said before, the Samaritans had to make room in their Decalogue for an additional Commandment by compressing the traditional "ten" into nine. This they did, apparently, by counting verses Ex. xx, 2-7 as two Commandments against the traditional threefold partition of the Jews. As said already, fluctuation in the numbering of these Commandments in Jewish circles is witnessed until the days of R. Ishmael (second century A.D.).

As shown above, the two Samaritan Decalogue inscriptions (Nablus and Palestine Museum) represent different ways of compressing the first three Jewish Commandments into the required two. The N.D. does it by omitting verse Ex. xx, 2, which in Jewish tradition is taken as Commandment no. 1, but is treated as a preamble by Philo, Josephus and R. Ishmael. The Palestine Museum stone contains the beginning of verse 2 as abbreviation of the Samaritan Commandment no. 1; and verse 3 as a representation of Samaritan Commandment no. 2, including verse 7 (the Jewish Commandment no. 3).

The present writers are inclined to consider this fluctuation as being an indication that the stones record a pre-canonical Samaritan form of the Ten Commandments which goes back to a period when the Samaritan Codex had not yet been definitely fixed.

This assumption is substantiated furthermore by the fact that the Jewish Commandment no. 10: "Neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's house; neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's wife, etc. . . ." (Ex. xx, 17) is represented in different ways in those inscriptions. It shall be called back to mind that this Commandment is found in two different versions—in Ex. xx and Deut. v, which are compared below. It is, moreover, numbered as two commandments in some early Christian traditions.¹ On the other hand, the text of this

¹ In Codex Alexandrinus.

Commandment is completely identical in Samaritan MSS., in both its recordings, Ex. xx and Deut. v.*

In the four inscriptions, treated here, this Commandment is abbreviated in three different ways. The fullest is given by the Nablus and Leeds stones, namely: "Neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's house; and neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's wife". The Palestine Museum inscription has only the first part of this sentence, omitting "and neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's wife". The shortest version is

	Official Jewish, ¹ Papyrus Nash, ³ Official Protestant		Massoretic, ² Edition Kittel		Roman Catholic, Lutheran	
	Ex. xx v.	Deut. v v.	Ex. xx v.	Deut. v v.	Ex. xx v.	Deut. v v.
Preamble . .					2	6
Commandment						
First . .	2-3	6-7	1	6-10	3-6	7-10
Second . .	4-6	8-10	2-6	11	7	11
Third . .	7	11	7	12-15	8-11	12-15
Fourth . .	8-11	12-15	8-11	16	12	16
Fifth . .	12	16	12	17	13	17
Sixth . .	13	17	13	18	14	18
Seventh . .	14	18	14	19	15	19
Eighth . .	15	19	15	20	16	20
Ninth . .	16	20	16	21a	17a	21a
Tenth . .	17	21	17	21b	17b	21b

¹ See references quoted in note 1, p. 220.

² See note 4, p. 220.

³ In this papyrus Commandments 6 and 7 appear in reversed order.

found in the Sychar Decalogue which reads only: "Neither shalt thou covet".

The special Samaritan Tenth Commandment is again differently quoted in the stones. The Nablus, Leeds and Sychar Decalogues chose the sentence ובנית מזבח ליהוה אלהיך drawn from Deut. xxvii, 5 to represent this rather lengthy addition to the Decalogue. The Leeds Inscription alone adds to this

* von Gall's apparatus records a number of MSS. which omit the copula "and" before "thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife". Others spell והמורך defectively.

the verse Deut. xxvii, 8. But while the former sentence, verse 5, is part of the Tenth Commandment in Samaritan MSS., verse 8 is *not* included and is therefore drawn directly from its original source for inclusion in our stone.

The Palestine Museum Decalogue quotes the Tenth Commandment by a different verse, part of Deut. xxvii, 4, reading in accordance with Samaritan tradition, "Har Gerizim" instead of "Har Ebal". These words are, as a matter of fact, the quintessence of the Samaritan additional Commandment. If the

Septuagint, ¹ ^a Philo, ² Josephus, ³ R. Ishmael ⁴		Official Samaritan ⁵		Nablus Decalogue		P.M. Decalogue	
Ex. xx	Deut. v	Ex. xx	Deut. v	Ex. xx	Deut. v	Ex. xx	Deut. v
v.	v.	v.	v.	v.	v.	v.	v.
2	6	2	6	2	6		
3	7	3-6	7-10	3-6	7-10	2	6
4-6	8-10	7	11	7	11	3(-7)	7(-11)
7	11	8-11	12-15	8-11	12-15	8(-11)	12(-15)
8-11	12-15	12	16	12	16	12	16
12	16	13	17	13	17	13	17
13	17	14	18	14	18	14	18
14	18	15	19	15	19	15	19
15	19	16	20	16	20	16	20
16	20	17	21	17	21	17	21
17	21	add.	add.	add.	add.	add.	add.

¹ Edition Swete.

² De Decalogo xii.

³ A.J. VI; v, 5.

⁴ According to Sifre (ed. Friedmann), p. 33a.

⁵ Edition von Gall.

⁶ The Septuagint version in Deut. reverses the order of Commandments 6 and 7, as do Philo and Papyrus Nash. In Ex. v the Septuagint has the order 7-8-6.

suggested restoration is correct, they were preceded by התורה הוּאָה which would be a feature common to the Palestine Museum stone and the Leeds Decalogue.

It is rather astonishing that in this crucial point the stones differ from one another. The Samaritans took exceptional care to give in their Pentateuch MSS. in both Ex. xx and Deut. v readings of their Tenth Commandment which are

identical in the smallest detail. The deviations in the stones are the more surprising when we bear in mind that in the Third to Eighth Commandments all the inscriptions are the same word by word.

These facts seem to suggest that the stones date from early days and record a version of the Samaritan Decalogue which had not yet been definitely fixed.¹ This is the more probable when we consider that the fluctuations are mainly found in (a) Commandments 1 to 3 on which no unanimity had been established as late as the second century A.D. ; (b) in the Tenth Commandment ("neither shalt thou covet") which is preserved in two different Jewish versions and was counted as two Commandments by the Alexandrians ; (c) and in the Samaritan additional Commandment which scholars tend to view as a rather late Samaritan fabrication.

IV

It is useful to summarise below the points of difference between the Samaritan and Massoretic Hebrew Pentateuchal versions of the Ten Commandments. Thereafter we shall compare the Samaritan Pentateuchal versions with the four Samaritan Decalogue inscriptions.

First of all, just as there are two versions of the Ten Commandments in the Hebrew Massoretic text, viz. Ex. xx and Deut. v, so, too, there are two versions in the Samaritan Hebrew Pentateuch text Ex. xx and Deut. v. There is one significant difference, however, between Massoretic versions and the Hebrew Samaritan. While there are differences between the Exodus and Deuteronomy version in the case of the actual Ten Commandments (treated by them as nine), such differences being parallel to the differences between the Hebrew Massoretic Exodus and Deuteronomy versions, the Samaritan special Tenth Commandment is identical in both the Samaritan Exodus and

¹ It was said above that the Samaritan High Priest in the days of Rosen (1860) as well as the now acting High Priest denied any possible Samaritan origin of these abbreviated Decalogue inscriptions. We put forward a theory that this might point to the antiquity of this practice which has become obsolete.

Deuteronomy versions. Differences between Hebrew Massoretic Exodus and Deuteronomy Ten Commandments are: "*nor* the likeness of" Ex. xx, 4 for "the likeness of" Deut. v, 8; "upon the third" Ex. xx, 5, "*and* upon the third" Deut. v, 9; "Remember the sabbath day", Ex. xx, 8, "Observe the Sabbath day", Deut v, 12; "thy manservant" Ex. xx, 10, "*nor* thy manservant", Deut. v, 14; "*nor* thy cattle" follows immediately after "thy maidservant" Ex. xx, 10, but Deut. v, 14, inserts after "maidservant" "*nor* thine ox, *nor* thine ass".

More substantial variants are: after "within thy gates" Ex. xx, 10, Ex. xx, 11 commences with "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it". But Deut. v, 14 after "within thy gates" has "that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou". Then Deut. v, 15 continues, "And thou shalt remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and the Lord thy God brought thee out thence by a mighty hand and by a stretched-out arm". Ex. xx, 11 completes this Commandment with "wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it". Deut. v, 15 ends it with "therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day".

Ex. xx, 12 after "Honour thy father and thy mother" has not, as Deut. v, 16, "as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee". Deut. v, 16 interrupts the rest of the commandment after "that thy days may be long" with "and that it may go well with thee", before finishing like Exodus with "upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee". Ex. xx, 14 "Thou shalt not commit adultery" is introduced with a "*neither*" in Deut. v, 18. Similarly with the remaining Commandments in Deut. v, 19, 20, 21.

The Tenth (Jewish) Commandment has further points of interest. In Ex. xx, 17 the prohibition of coveting the "neighbour's house" precedes the coveting of the "neighbour's wife". In Deut. v, 21 the wife precedes. While in Ex. xx, 17 the same verb is used for "coveting" house and wife, in Deut. v, 21 a different verb is used with reference to each: "Neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's wife; neither shalt thou desire thy

neighbour's house". After "house", Deut. v, 21 inserts "his field" (not mentioned in Ex. xx, 17) before "manservant".

We pass now to the relation of the Samaritan recordings of the Ten Commandments (Ex. xx and Deut. v) to their Massoretic counterparts. Basically the Samaritan Exodus form agrees with the Massoretic Exodus version, especially where the latter differs from the Massoretic Deuteronomomic recording, e.g. Exodus midrashic addition to the Fourth Commandment. (The Samaritan Deuteronomomic form of this addition is that of the Massoretic Deuteronomy.) But at the same time there is evidence of harmonisation, e.g. the Samaritan Ex. xx, 8 has "Keep the sabbath day" as Deut. v, 12 (Sam. and Mass.) instead of the Massoretic Ex. xx, 8 "Remember". Harmonisation as far as it goes here is in favour of Deuteronomy, but in the Tenth Commandment (Jewish enumeration) the harmonisation is more in favour of Exodus. With the Ninth Commandment "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour" (Ex. xx, 16; Deut. v, 20), in Exodus (Mass. Heb.) we have עד שקר, but in Deuteronomy (Mass. Heb.) the reading עד שוא is given. The Samaritan Pentateuch Decalogue texts follow Massoretic Exodus and Deuteronomy respectively. The Decalogue Inscriptions which have preserved the full reading of this Commandment are the Sychar and the Nablus; both of them follow the Exodus text regarding עד שקר. In both the Leeds and the Palestine Museum inscriptions the stones are damaged at this point; in the case of the Leeds nothing can be read after "thy neighbour", while in the Palestine Museum inscription only *shin* is preserved. It is worthwhile to remark that von Gall's edition quotes two Samaritan MSS. which read עד שקר even in the Deuteronomy text.

In view of the fact that עד שקר is found in the Nablus and the Sychar inscriptions, which otherwise seem to belong to different groups (see below), and that two fifteenth century Sam. MSS. read עד שקר in both Exodus and Deuteronomy, the following possibilities lie open: (a) that there was an early Samaritan tradition that עד שקר should be read in both Exodus and Deuteronomy, (b) or that here we have an instance of later harmonisation in the case of MSS. E and I (ed. von Gall), and

the stones represent the Exodus recording. With the Tenth Commandment the Samaritan Deut. v, 21(18) keeps the Exodus (Sam. and Mass.) identity of verb for "coveting" either "neighbour's wife" or "neighbour's house", and like Ex. xx, 17 mentions "house" before "wife". "Neither" is inserted in both the Sam. Ex. xx, 17 and Deut. v, 21(18) before coveting the latter. This is not found in the Mass. Ex. xx, 17 but occurs in the Mass. Deut. v, 21(18) before the prohibition of "coveting" or "desiring" either. However, Sam. Ex. xx, 17 and Deut. v, 21(18) insert in the list of things not to be coveted "his field" as only Mass. Deut. v, 21(18).

The extra Samaritan Tenth Commandment is basically Deut. xxvii, 2-7 of the Samaritan version bringing in, in addition, Deut. xi, 30, modified at the end by reference to Gen. xii, 6. The extra Samaritan Tenth Commandment is exactly the same in the Samaritan Ex. xx and Deut. v forms of the Decalogue. It appears to have been known to Origen according to Field (cf. *Origenis Hexaplorum*, Oxford, 1875). There it is marked by asterisk as not in the Jewish Bible. The Syro-Hexapla scholiast adds that this is the Samaritan Tenth Commandment.¹ We may ask ourselves, however, if the Samaritan Tenth Commandment in its exact form was actually known to Origen or if the Syro-Hexapla copyist, knowing the Samaritan form fixed by his own day, translated it exactly as he knew it then. We must bear this in mind in discussing the date or dates of our inscriptions of the Samaritan Decalogue.

First let us compare translations of the Samaritan Deut. xxvii, 2-8 and the Samaritan extra Tenth Commandment (Ex. xx, 17b and Deut. v, 18b).

(Sam.) Ex. xx and Deut. v

And it shall come to pass when the Lord thy God brings thee to the land of the Canaanite whether thou art entering to possess it.

Then thou shalt set up for thyself great stones and plaster them with lime and thou shalt write upon them (upon the stones) all the words of this law. (Ex. xx, Deut. v.)

(Sam.) Deut. xxvii

And it shall come to pass on the day when ye cross the Jordan to the land which the Lord thy God is giving to thee.

¹ Field's Greek reconstruction of Origen's text is based on the Syriac, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 116.

When thou crossest in order that thou mayest enter into the land which the Lord thy God is giving to thee, a land flowing with milk and honey as the Lord the God of thy Fathers spake to thee.

And it shall be when ye cross the Jordan ye shall set up these stones which I am commanding thee to-day on Mount Gerizim.

And thou shalt plaster them with lime.

And thou shalt build there an altar to the Lord thy God, an altar of stones : thou shalt not lift up upon them iron, (with) whole stones : thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God and thou shalt offer up upon it burnt offerings to the Lord thy God and thou shalt sacrifice peace-offerings and thou shalt eat there and rejoice before the Lord thy God.

And thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law very plainly.

That Mount is beyond Jordan towards the way of the going down of the sun in the land of the Canaanite that dwells in the Arabah facing the Gilgal close by the oak of Moreh facing Shechem.

V

On the Leeds stone, in a later hand and divided from the main text by a deep line, is a citation from Deut. xxxiii, 4, "The Law Moses commanded to us". In the Nablus inscription, within the frame and as if part of the Tenth Commandment, is a citation from Num. x, 35-36, "Arise Yahweh, return Yahweh". The Palestine Museum inscription, which, like the N.D., is surrounded by a decorative frame, has no such appendix to the Tenth Commandment.

One thing has to be stressed. Neither P.D. nor S.D. have such a final line ; Leeds has the final line added as a sort of afterthought and how long after we do not know. But the Leeds final line is not the same as that of the N.D. These final lines in their different ways seem to hint at ideas from one of the paragraphs following the Samaritan Tenth Commandment. These paragraphs are not found in the Hebrew Massoretic text of Ex. xx and Deut. v. The relevant paragraph is comprised of Deut. v, 26, Deut. xviii, 18-22 and Deut. v, 27-28. A trans-

lation of this paragraph (taken from Gaster, *op. cit.*, p. 190) is given in the footnote below.¹

The Leeds final line, "Moses commanded us a law, an inheritance for the assembly of Jacob", stresses the rôle of Moses as Lawgiver at Mt. Sinai. The same idea seems to underlie the additional paragraph mentioned above. However, the verse itself is not part of the standard Samaritan Decalogue appendices.

The Lawgiving at Mt. Sinai is probably referred to in the last line of the N.D., which cites Num. x, 35-36 in condensed fashion. Num. x, 35-36 reads: "And it came to pass, when the Ark set forth that Moses said, *Rise up, O Lord*, and let Thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before Thee. And when it rested, he said, *Return, O Lord*, unto the ten thousands of the thousands of Israel". This verse again does not figure in the official Samaritan Decalogue appendices.

The Nablus final line may be a deliberate attempt on the part of the mason to refer to the Samaritan doctrines of Rahutha and Panutha (i.e. Divine Favour and Divine Displeasure). The period of Divine Favour was from the Lawgiving to the time of Eli. Then came the period of Divine Displeasure, which has continued ever since, and will continue till the Taheb, the Samaritan equivalent of the Messiah, comes.

As to orthography we note that there is no difference between that of the stones themselves and that of the Samaritan Decalogue text in so far as the latter is cited on the stones. As we remarked

¹ And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, 'I have heard the voice of the words of this people, which they have spoken unto thee; they have well said all that they have spoken. O that there were such an heart in them that they would fear me, and keep all my commandments always, that it might be well with them and with their children for ever. (Deuteronomy xviii, 18) I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee; and will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not harken unto his words which he shall speak in my Name, I will require it of him. But the prophet which shall presume to speak a word in my Name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, that same prophet shall die. And if thou sayest in thine heart, How shall it be known that the word is not that which the Lord hath spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the Name of the Lord, if the thing follow not nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously; thou shalt not be afraid of him.

above, the Decalogue inscriptions abbreviate the Commandments where possible and cite only the significant features of each Commandment. Even so, words are not in themselves abbreviated on these stones, nor are words written defectively; not that there was much opportunity, as it happens, with the words of the Decalogue text quoted on the stones, to employ *matres lectionis* to any extent; but neither has the Samaritan Pentateuch Decalogue text done so. Indeed the Samaritan Pentateuch Decalogue text (von Gall ed.) and the Massoretic Hebrew Decalogue text are very close in orthography¹ apart from, e.g. שלשים (Ex. xx, 5 Mass.) but שלישים in the Samaritan Pentateuch text; another example is לקדשו (Ex. xx, 8 Mass.) which appears in the Samaritan as לקדשהו. In Ex. xx, 11 ויקדשהו appears alike in Hebrew Massoretic and Samaritan. Incidentally the Leeds inscription top line, damaged as it is, still shows enough of לקדשהו in the Fourth Commandment to show that the suffix appeared in that form there on the stone just as it does in the Samaritan Ex. xx, 8, as against the form לקדשו in the same verse Ex. xx, 5 in the Hebrew Massoretic.

Something should be said regarding the epigraphy of these four Samaritan Decalogue inscriptions. Montgomery in "The Samaritans", 1907, published a table (plate 13, facing p. 278) of which columns vi, vii, viii are described as "Monumental Samaritan". Column vi is from the First Emmaus inscription; column vii is from the Nablus "Ten words" (i.e. of Creation); while column viii is from the Leeds Decalogue inscription. Had Montgomery published a column devoted to the Nablus Decalogue inscription he could have supplied his readers with a *pe* to compare with that of the Leeds. He could also have furnished one with a *gimel* (not found in any of the three inscriptions which he made the basis of his table). Montgomery's drawings of the Leeds letters leave much to be desired. Of course one must allow for the very poor photograph at his disposal, e.g. the left foot of the *beth* is not so pronounced. The *taw* on the other hand has a much more pronounced upward right hand

¹ Even allowing for von Gall's preference for Samaritan MSS. with orthography closest to the Hebrew Massoretic, e.g. his writing of Har-Gezirim as two words.

stroke. The Leeds *daleth* has a very marked long horizontal top tail and in Montgomery's table this appears as a tiny tittle. Montgomery's *zayin* is perhaps his worst misrepresentation.

To pass on now to the comparison of the epigraphy of the four Decalogue inscriptions, the Leeds, the Nablus, the Palestine Museum and the Sychar. As a preliminary remark one should point out that the Nablus and the Palestine Museum stones have each an ornamental border, but, apart from this fact and that they are the bigger stones and of similar texture and colouring, resemblance ends. The Nablus and the Leeds stones have lateral lines incised with shallow incision; between these lines the text is deeply inscribed. In the case of the Leeds inscription the letters definitely depend from the upper line, and *mem* and *lamed* and *kaph* do not merely touch the upper line but pass through it as does the *nun* in both the Nablus and Leeds.

In the Sychar and the Palestine Museum stones there are no lateral dividing lines. In all four inscriptions there are word dividers represented by one dot. These are in relief in the Nablus inscription, in the other inscriptions they are indented. (In the Palestine Museum stone it appears as a vertical stroke, in the Leeds as a round indentation.) Only the Nablus and the Leeds inscriptions have the colon at the end of Commandments. The Nablus is more consistent in the use of the colon.

In dealing with the epigraphy proper we note that the Nablus and Leeds inscriptions have in the case of the *kaph*, the *mem* and the *nun* at the left hand foot in all cases an open wedge, open at the angle of about forty-five degrees and made by two separate linear indentations. In the Palestine Museum and the Sychar inscriptions this feature appears as a closed wedge-like cavity made by a triangular stylus.

The top lateral stroke of the *mem* and the *kaph* in the Leeds and the Nablus inscriptions are truly horizontal, especially in the Leeds. This applies, too, to the bottom line of the Leeds inscription which, as we have seen (above), appears to be by a different hand from the main text. In the case of these letters the Palestine Museum and the Sychar inscriptions have (and especially is this so with the Palestine Museum stone)

two shallow curves instead of a truly horizontal line. The Nablus and the Leeds (main text) and the Sychar inscriptions have vertical "crowns" (strokes) in their *mems* and *kaphs*, strokes of equal breadth throughout their length. But the Palestine Museum stone has wedge shaped strokes reminiscent of the wedges at the left hand foot of these letters. These wedge strokes are also found on the top of the *mem* in the separate bottom line of the Leeds inscription. The Palestine Museum stone has a propensity for making the simple strokes of the Nablus and Leeds inscriptions into wedges, but the wedges are found in the *shin* in the bottom line of the Leeds stone. There you have the straight, horizontal base of the *shin* found in none of the other three stones, which make it two shallow curves. The closed wedge-like indentation as a tail piece is found in all stones in some letters, but in the Palestine Museum stone most often. The Leeds and the Nablus inscriptions, on the one hand, stand close together as regards epigraphy; the Palestine Museum and the Sychar inscriptions, on the other hand, have much in common in this respect, e.g. the heads of the *beth* and *resh* are there rounded, but in L.D. and N.D. the heads of *beth* and *resh* are angular. The tendency to curves in preference to sharp corners is, even so, developed in the P.D. inscription, e.g. of the 'ayin in P.D. as against even that in S.D. In all such cases cited above the idiosyncrasies of the individual sculptor cannot be ruled out, but when stones as different as L.D. and N.D., on the one hand, and P.D. and S.D., on the other, have features in common, perhaps we need not stress the sculptor's idiosyncrasies. What is clear is that we have, on the one hand, a tendency to curves and, on the other, to angles. Which is the earlier?

The present writers confine themselves to pointing out these differences without drawing any final conclusions as to the relative dates of these inscriptions. The state of Samaritan epigraphy up to the present does not enable us to fix with any degree of accuracy the progress of the development of Samaritan characters.

Perhaps it is helpful to summarise the conclusions of past scholars regarding the dates of some of these stones. Wright regarded the Leeds stone as at least three or four hundred years old, but perhaps much older. Montgomery (*op. cit.*, p. 275) would

date the Leeds inscription along with the Nablus Decalogue inscription and the Nablus inscription of The Ten Words of Creation¹ as "anterior to the disruption of the Samaritan community by Justinian". In dating these two Nablus inscriptions thus, he is following Rosen (*op. cit.*). Blau (*op. cit.*) had dated these as from the first Samaritan Temple on Mt. Gerizim destroyed by John Hyrcanus. This last view is extremely unlikely; what would be more likely would be that it came from the second Samaritan Temple built after Bar Kokba's revolt in the thirties of the second century A.D. (if indeed it came from the Temple and not a synagogue). Be that as it may, the second Samaritan Temple was destroyed finally in the time of the Emperor Zeno (A.D. 474-491). Samaritan synagogues suffered as well at this time. There is no need to argue that we must wait until Justinian's day for the reduction of the Samaritan Community as a result of his edict of 529, "De Haereticis et Manichaeis et Samaritis". Certainly, then, in 529 steps were taken for the destruction of Samaritan synagogues, the rebuilding of which was forbidden. But despite the ability of the Samaritans to give trouble in 529, the Samaritans even after 486 were at a low ebb.

The P.D. inscription is listed in Palestine Museum as of the third or fourth century A.D. The Sychar inscription identified by Dr. Bowman only last summer has not so far been dated. As pointed out above, of the four inscriptions S.D. and P.D. stand together not only in epigraphy but in certain textual features as well. If the dating of P.D. were right we should provisionally suggest a somewhat similar date for the Sychar inscription.

CONCLUSIONS BASED ON INTERNAL EVIDENCE

According to the Biblical tradition (Ex. xxxii, 15, Deut. iv, 13, v, 19, x, 34) the Ten Commandments were written on two stones. Philo (De Decalogo xii) and Josephus (A. J. III, v, § 4) tell us that the Commandments were divided into two groups of

¹ Cf. Montgomery, *op. cit.*, p. 274. The inscription was first published by Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 622.

five, engraved on each stone respectively (a similar division is mentioned in the Midrash Ex. R. xli). Scholars have realised that if the present Massoretic text is original, the first tablet would have contained considerably more words than the second. It has therefore been assumed that the original Commandments One to Five and Ten (Jewish official enumeration) had had a much shorter form, and had been amplified by so-called midrashic elements ; the differences between the additional elements in the Exodus and Deuteronomy forms of the Fourth, Fifth and Tenth Commandments seem to support this view. As stated, the Samaritan Pentateuch Decalogue texts follow the Massoretic Exodus and Deuteronomy respectively in broad outline.

It is interesting to remark that the abbreviated form of the Decalogue, as found in the Samaritan Decalogue inscriptions, is nearly identical with the supposed original form of the Decalogue as given by Wildeboer and others (the additional Samaritan Commandment excepted).

It should be noticed that differences between the forms of individual Commandments on these stones occur only in Commandments which modern scholars recognise as having in Pentateuch texts (Mass. and Sam. alike) midrashic elements. Since the Samaritan Pentateuch Decalogue texts largely follow the respective Massoretic Hebrew midrashic additions in Exodus and Deuteronomy (with the exception of Commandment Nine (Jewish Tenth), where the Samaritan text has harmonised the Exodus and Deuteronomy forms mainly in favour of Exodus), it would be absurd to suggest that the Hebrew Pentateuch, in the possession of the Samaritans presumably before the Samaritan schism, had not already such additions. Yet it is possible that the Samaritans, or some Samaritans, for long thereafter had traditions of the basic forms of the Commandments concerned. On the other hand, it might be urged that the individual sculptors used their own discretion in abbreviating Commandments as they so desired. But even this latter suggestion, if correct, would probably point to a fairly early date for these stones, possibly in the first few centuries of the Christian era. Divergence does not seem to have been tolerated as the Samaritan group became smaller.

We have shown above (see table) the divergencies of view as to the enumeration of the Commandments even in non-Samaritan circles from the beginning of this era. It is plain that the Palestine Museum stone and the Nablus have different ideas as to what constitutes the First Commandment and the Second at least. While divergence of views as to enumeration persisted until late in Jewish and Christian circles, it is unlikely that this was the case in the small Samaritan community. In the case of the Ninth Samaritan Commandment (Jewish Tenth) the stones show diversity in abbreviating; while Leeds and Nablus stand together, the Palestine Museum and the Sychar stones differ from each other as well as the other two. In the case of the Palestine Museum stone, its omission of the prohibition of coveting the neighbour's wife was not prompted by lack of space.

But it is in the extra Tenth Commandment that divergence is perhaps most marked. The Leeds inscription quotes a verse in its last line (main text) which is found in neither the standard Samaritan Pentateuch Tenth Commandment form nor in the Hexaplaric translation of it. And when we allow for the great importance of this Commandment in Samaritan eyes, as embodying their essential point of difference from the Jews, it is hard to believe that, had the standard text of this Commandment been already fixed when these stones were incised, such diversity of abbreviation would have been countenanced. The Leeds stone in particular seems to point to a stage when the Commandment's form was not fixed but was merely realised as being based on Deut. xxvii, 2-8.

One might suggest a pre-Origenic date for these stones, as Origen appears to have known this Commandment in its finished form,¹ and not only this Commandment but the succeeding verses as well. These latter are not represented on the Palestine Museum and Sychar stones; the Leeds, as we saw, adds a line, but it is outside its main text; in the Nablus it is within the frame and not demarcated from the Ten

¹ If Field, *op. cit.*, is right in making Origen's Hexapla the source of the Syro-Hexapla's translation of the standard Samaritan Pentateuch's Tenth Commandment and its succeeding verses.

Commandments. However, in neither have we verses cited from the Standard Samaritan Pentateuch's succeeding verses to the Decalogue. Origen knew these standard verses following the Decalogue, and in the form they now possess, if Field's assumption is justified. But, of course, if Paul of Tella or some scholiast is to be held responsible for the text now extant in the Syro-Hexapla margin without having based himself on the Origenic original, one would have to allow for a later date for the inscriptions. If this is the case, we would either have to assume a post-Origenic date for the final redaction of the text of the Samaritan Ten Commandments or to view the versions contained in the inscriptions as a continuation of textual traditions which have not been incorporated in the Samaritan "Massora".

A NOTE ON THE DESCELIERS' MAPPEMONDE OF 1546 IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY¹

By C. A. BURLAND, F.R.A.I.

THE Desceliers' map² is painted upon the flesh side of six skins of vellum of which the ends are joined between the Equator and Tropic of Cancer on the map, and the side joints are so placed that they are concealed by vertical scales. The painting is strikingly like that on contemporary French Books of Hours, particularly in the matter of colours. Ultra-violet light shows these to be all of mineral origin and of similar type throughout the map. The only evidence of other paints being used at a later date is to be found on a small patch of restoration near the Equator. There is also a large area in the North Pacific now discoloured to a light bluish tone by some special application put on the map in 1877, when it was discovered that this part was occupied by the date and Desceliers' name. Apart from this the map remains substantially as it left the hands of the cartographer.

For some period prior to its acquisition by Lord Crawford, the map appears to have lain folded with the vellum skin of the upper, Western, section exposed to light and air. This folding has resulted in a small break in the vellum on the Equator, and the exposure has greatly darkened the pale brown ground colour of the North American continent, so that the overlying paintings have become greatly obscured. This darkening was partly overcome by photography through a red screen at some period before 1900. The photographs were published in Canada

¹ Through the courtesy of the Librarian, I was permitted to make an examination of this remarkable document on behalf of the *Geographical Magazine*, London. We were also permitted to take our own photographs by infra-red light and study the map by ultra-violet light. Both the photographers (Messrs. Flemings of Africa House, Kingsway) and I would here like to express our thanks for the kindness of all members of the staff of John Rylands Library, whose help made our visit a success.

² Ryl. French MS. 1*. It measures 2 m. 60 × 1 m. 30 (8 ft. 2 × 4 ft. 1½).

and copies are obtainable from the Canadian Houses of Parliament at Ottawa. The present work with infra-red light has resulted in a considerable improvement in the definition obtained, and also has obscured the lettering in red to a lesser extent than in the earlier work. The photographs will be published in the *Geographical Magazine* early in 1951.

Although now carefully mounted on linen between rollers, for use as a wall map, the work was designed as a table map. The lettering on the two hemispheres faces away from the Equator in order to make it more easily accessible to a visitor looking at it from either side of a table.

The map was painted by Pierre Desceliers, the Parish Priest of Arques near Calais, for the Court of Francis I of France. For long it was known as the "Dauphin Mappemonde", and there is no reason to doubt that it was made for the Prince who in 1547 was to become Henri II. As a work of art it is typical of the Renaissance in France. The border is garnished with beautifully executed scroll work framing heads of cherubs in the Northern Hemisphere and human skulls in the Southern, between them the names of the points of the compass are painted in Roman capitals. On the seas, dolphins, whales and sea-serpents disport themselves among the ships and elaborate compass cards, and on land there are painted groups of people in classical poses set in small patches of romantic scenery which in themselves make charming miniatures.

The map omits latitudes above the Arctic and Antarctic Circles, and is constructed on a cylindrical projection (Mercator's) which permits of the use of compass bearings to identify the position of any place from the compass-cards with which it is profusely decorated. The lettering used is delightfully clear. Small names, some in black and some in red, are written in a Gothic hand of the period, and the larger inscriptions are in Roman capitals. There remain other "Gothic" influences in the treatment of small islands which often appear painted in tints and metals in a truly heraldic manner. It is noteworthy, however, that the only places where heraldic charges appear on the map are the British Isles. The St. George Cross, gules on a field or, appears on both England and Ireland, referring no

doubt to the total occupation of the latter country by the English in 1542. Scotland has its own shield with a cross of St. Andrew gules, but this is overlaid with a vertical cross which appears very dark now but may once have been azure. In the North Sea there are two galleys flying blue flags sweeping towards Britain. They reflect Desceliers' news sense. England was then formally at war with France, and the galleys no doubt are carrying French aid to Scotland where Queen Mary Stuart was then just four years old.

In his treatment of the rest of the world Desceliers is dependent upon the accuracy of his information. He varies from an almost unrecognisable Scandinavia to surprising accuracy in South America and Indonesia. There can be little doubt that he was thoroughly acquainted with the travel literature of his day. He records English, Spanish and Portuguese discoveries as accurately as he does French. Coasts from which he had no reports are indicated by a special type of curving line; though unknown land areas are peopled by whatever he thinks most probable from available sources. In Africa we meet Prester John, and the King of Guinea rides on a white elephant. In North-east Asia we find the fantasies of Sir John Mandeville; men with heads in their breasts, and lop-eared humans; but where Pierre Desceliers had no literary backing he was more charming and natural. He decorated the empty spaces with classical figures, rapidly sketched in, but nevertheless graceful.

On the whole, the map is amazingly accurate. The literary sources from which the information was obtained can in some cases be traced, for instance, Jacques Cartier's "Breve Recit" for Canada; though even here he has obviously added much, probably obtained directly from the voyagers. In other parts of the world of the map one is constantly surprised. Desceliers must have relied on Arab accounts of Central Africa, but he brings his "Mountains of the Moon" farther south than Ptolemy, and places the Rift Valley lakes with a close approximation to their true position, including Lake Nyassa. No doubt he obtained information about Indonesia from both Arab and Portuguese sources. He depicts the East Indies very accurately as far as Ceram and then he brings us up with astonishment at

what appears to be a very good representation of part of Australia, but well to the north of its true position. Perhaps it would be best to regard this as an exaggeration of the north coast of New Guinea derived from Portuguese accounts. It is in the Pacific, however, that Desceliers shows the most astonishing insight. West of Indonesia he shows the Ysle de Altofer (? an Arab name for the Solomons?) He knows of a Pacific archipelago Y^e de Marsouyns, which is more extensive than is described in Magellan's voyage, but probably derived from that source, and then, in approximately the right place is shown a large square island, Y^e de Magan Magna, shockingly like North Island, New Zealand. Desceliers shows by his carefully drawn coastline and a river that he is drawing an island which he believes to be properly described, on good authority. It is too much to expect that he really had heard of New Zealand, or that his informant should have missed South Island when passing through Cook Strait. My personal view is that he has been given information about Fiji, particularly as to the North East he gives a smaller island, Y^e de Haill. This I take to be a rendering of a true Polynesian word, such as Tahiti or Hawaii. Probably in this case it refers to Hapai in the Tonga group. In any case the whole matter remains a mystery and further research is necessary.

For China and Japan, Desceliers still has to rely on the accounts of Marco Polo, but across the Pacific he has more accurate information. Between two areas of unknown coast he draws carefully a length of shore and a river in the neighbourhood of San Francisco ; though he shows no sign of having information of Cortes's exploration of the Gulf of California in 1539.

In many parts of the world he draws native peoples with considerable accuracy. Cases in point are his Hottentots in South Africa, and the North American Indians. On the South American continent he waxes eloquent in his drawing and we see Brazilian cannibals attacking shipwrecked mariners, and others in feather ornaments carrying beams of logwood for trade. In Peru the Spaniards attack an Inca fortress, and in the south, where a Welsh Griffin prophetically guards Patagonia (awaiting the advent of the sheep farmers), the Straits of Magellan are very well drawn.

The map is a very beautiful expression of Renaissance culture in France, but, even more than that, it is a monument to the amazing spread of discovery in the short sixty years following the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Bartholomew Diaz in 1486.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The Desceliers' map has previously been reproduced in autotype with no colour corrections, in a privately printed edition of 100 copies, with collations and notes by Charles Henry Coote, in 1898. "Bibliotheca Lindesiana: Notes No. 4. Autotype Facsimiles of three Mappemondes."

The other comparable maps reproduced in this work are the Desceliers' Mappemondi of 1536 (British Museum, Add. MSS. 5413) and of 1550 (British Museum, Add. MSS. 24,065).

JOHN PECKHAM, O.F.M., ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, VERSUS THE NEW ARISTOTELIANISM

BY FR. THEODORE CROWLEY, O.F.M., D.Ph., Lic.Sc.Hist.,
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RECENT studies by two eminent medievalists, M. D. Knowles¹ and D. A. Callus, O.P.,² have dealt with the position of John Peckham, O.F.M., Archbishop of Canterbury, in his controversies with St. Thomas Aquinas and his disciples of the University of Oxford. The study of Dom Knowles does little more than re-state the views of P. Mandonnet, O.P., and that in spite of recent criticism of that writer's airy historical constructions.³ The study of Fr. Callus is more thorough but does not take into account sufficiently the nature of the opposition encountered by Peckham from the Oxford Thomists. In the following pages I shall discuss the question from a purely historical point of view, leaving aside, in so far as possible, any judgment on the theological and philosophical issues involved.⁴ No estimate of the character of the actors in this too, too human drama is possible if the purely historical problem is subordinated

¹ "Some Aspects of the Career of Archbishop Peckham" in *The English Historical Review*, lvii (1942), pp. 1-18, 178-201; *The Religious Orders in England*, Cambridge, 1950, pp. 224-232.

² *The Condemnation of St. Thomas at Oxford*, Oxford, 1946.

³ P. Mandonnet, O.P., *Siger de Brabant et l'averroïsme latin au XIII^e siècle*, 2nd ed., in *Les Philosophes Belges*, vi-vii, Louvain, 1911-1908. Cf. F. Van Steenberghen, *Siger de Brabant d'après ses œuvres inédites*, vol. ii, *Siger dans l'histoire de l'aristotélisme*, Louvain, 1942; E. Gilson, *Dante et la philosophie* (*Études de philosophie médiévale*, xxviii), Paris, 1939; J. D'Albi, *Saint Bonaventure et les luttes doctrinales de 1267-1277*, Paris, Tamines, 1923; *Alexandri de Hales Summa Theologica*, vol. iv, *Prolegomena*, Quaracchi, 1948; T. Crowley, *Roger Bacon: The Problem of the Soul in his Philosophical Commentaries*, Louvain, Dublin, 1950.

⁴ It may be remarked here that the main question at issue between Peckham and St. Thomas Aquinas—unity or plurality of forms and theological implications of both doctrines—has ceased to arouse scholastic passion. The problem can therefore be studied in its historical setting without fanning into flame the cold ashes of the past.

to considerations of *amour-propre* or scholastic prejudice. The problems raised by Peckham's letters must be treated and solved by the application of the simple principles of historical criticism.

The belief that the thirteenth century witnessed a struggle for supremacy between an 'Augustinian' and an 'Aristotelian' school of thought has pervaded writings on medieval philosophy since the introduction of the terms 'Augustinianism' and 'Aristotelianism' by Franz (later Cardinal) Ehrle, S.J., in 1889.¹ Conflict, culminating in the condemnations of 1270, 1277 and 1286 and in the embittered controversies to which these condemnations gave rise, certainly existed. But the tenets of the opposing parties were not such as are conveyed by the terms 'Augustinianism' and 'Aristotelianism'. Cardinal Ehrle was careful to point out that he meant much more by 'Augustinianism' than the authentic teaching of St. Augustine—so much more in fact that his choice of this particular term to designate what he had in mind is to be regretted. By 'Augustinianism' he meant what we may for convenience sake term the pre-Aristotelian phase of scholastic thought as represented by Alexander of Hales, William of Auvergne, Roland of Cremona and others. This older school did not remain aloof from the great Aristotelian revival of the thirteenth century; it continued to exist side by side with the new school of St. Albert the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas. It assimilated the theorems of the Stagirite but more slowly, with greater caution, through better translations and purified from the influence of Arabic commentators. In spite of this, however, the new school had the advantage in that its assimilation of Aristotle was more unified and systematic and this was due to the surpassing genius of St. Thomas Aquinas.² This view has

¹ F. Ehrle, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Scholastik, II, Der Augustinismus und der Aristotelismus in der Scholastik gegen Ende des 13 Jahrhunderts" in *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, Band 5 (1889), pp. 603-635; "John Peckham über den Kampf des Augustinismus und Aristotelismus in der zweiten Hälfte des 13 Jhs." in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 13 (1889), pp. 172-193.

² "Dieselbe löste sich viel langsamer von den Bänden, welche sie an den hl. Augustin fesselten, und nahm die Theoreme des Stagiriten viel bedächtiger in sich auf, wodurch sie allerdings den Vortheil erlangte, dass sie dessen Lehre in einer gereiftern, durch bessere Uebersetzungen geläutertern und von den

had to be profoundly modified in the course of time, and with the progress of medieval studies it seems as if it will have to undergo greater modification still.¹ To take but one example, Roger Bacon is generally classed as an 'Augustinian'. In my recent study of Bacon I was led to conclude that the influence of St. Augustine on Bacon was practically nil and that Bacon believed himself to be a faithful follower of Aristotle. Even the very theses which decided historians to number him among the 'Augustinians' Bacon considered to be the authentic teaching of the Stagirite.² If Bacon is opposed to St. Thomas, it is not as a disciple of St. Augustine to a disciple of Aristotle but as one interpreter of Aristotle to another. The same thing can be said for Kilwardby and Peckham. The terms 'Augustinianism' and 'Aristotelianism' convey, therefore, a wholly false impression of the tenets of the opposing parties. Furthermore, the Aristotelianism of the 'Augustinians' is far from pure; the influence of Arabic and Jewish commentators was responsible for the development of some of their fundamental doctrines.³ It would not be accurate, on the other hand, to hold that the authority of St. Augustine was invoked in favour of these theses only as a ruse to combat St. Thomas.⁴ These theses had their origin in the new literature which penetrated

Einflüssen der Arabischen Commentatoren gereinigtern Gestaltung erhielt. Doch hierfür besass die neue Schule den Vorzug, dass sich dieser Umbildungsprocess in ihr durch die eine, überlegene Geisteskraft des Aquinaten einheitlicher und systematischer vollzog." F. Ehrle, *Der Augustinismus* . . . , p. 608.

¹ Cf. F. Van Steenberghen, *Siger de Brabant* . . . , ii, 718. What ridiculous confusion the use of these terms has created may be illustrated by the following passage: "In 1284 he (Peckham) undertook a rigid visitation of the University of Oxford. . . . His predecessor in the primacy, Robert Kilwardby, had condemned several 'errors' . . . Kilwardby had prohibited the teaching of Aristotle's works on physics and metaphysics . . . Peckham, however, was a militant Platonist and appealed to Augustine as the ultimate authority, using all his strength to oppose the advance of the Aristotelian flood" (*Archbishop Peckham as a Religious Educator*, by J. L. Peckham (*Yale Studies in Religion*, 7), Scottdale (Penn.), 1934, pp. 44 f.).

² T. Crowley, *Roger Bacon* . . . , pp. 202 f.

³ Cf. M. De Wulf, *Histoire de la philosophie médiévale*, vol. ii, Louvain, 1936, pp. 354 f.

⁴ This opinion has been expressed by M. De Wulf, "L'Augustinisme 'avicennisant'" in *Revue Néoscholastique de philosophie*, xxxiii (1931), pp. 32-33; *Histoire* . . . , ii, pp. 358-359.

directly into the faculties of arts and directly and indirectly into the schools of theology. In the schools of theology it was but natural that they should have become linked up with the predominantly Augustinian tradition of these schools and that support should have been sought for them in the works of St. Augustine.¹ In fact, I have found that for all but one of these theses the authority of both St. Augustine and Aristotle is invoked, and that long before 1270. The exception is the doctrine of plurality of forms, particularly as it applies to man. On that question the Augustinians were more Aristotelian than the Aristotelians.²

In the use of the term 'Aristotelianism' to designate the teaching of St. Thomas care must be taken to avoid exaggeration. In the first place, all the great scholastics were Christians and were careful not to incorporate the errors of the great pagan philosopher in their syntheses.³ In the second place, St. Thomas was far from being a mere commentator; he constructed an original synthesis which profoundly modified the teaching of Aristotle and *this was felt even by his contemporaries*.⁴ Cardinal Ehrle has stressed this point; the teaching of St. Thomas was new, a novelty. This was the opinion of friend and enemy alike of the new school. It is important to keep this in mind. The testimony of William of Tocco, the biographer of St. Thomas, stressed the novelty of the Saint's method: "Erat enim novos in sua lectione movens articulos, novum modum et clarum determinandi inveniens et novas reducens in determinationibus rationes, ut nemo qui ipsum audisset nova docere et novis rationibus dubia definire, dubitaret quod eum Deus novi luminis radiis illustraret, qui statim tam certi coepisset (esse) judicii, ut non dubitaret novas opiniones docere et scribere."⁵

¹ As an example of this tendency the reader may be referred to the study of Thomas of York by D. E. Sharp, *Franciscan Philosophy at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century*, Oxford, 1930, pp. 53-112.

² Cf. T. Crowley, *Roger Bacon* . . . , pp. 134-136.

³ It has been asserted that in his admiration for Avicenna Roger Bacon taught the necessity of creation. I have dealt with this in my work *Roger Bacon* . . . , p. 206, n. 12.

⁴ Cf. F. Van Steenberghen, *Siger de Brabant* . . . , II, pp. 481 f.

⁵ F. Ehrle, *Der Augustinismus* . . . , pp. 608 f.; M. De Wulf, *Histoire* . . . , ji, 179.

A third school of thought, also Aristotelian but frankly heterodox, appeared in the second half of the thirteenth century. This tendency has been called Latin Averroism. Again, the denomination is misleading. The only specifically Averroistic thesis defended by Siger of Brabant, and that at one period of his career, was that of unity of the possible intellect or passive reason.¹

In the second half of the thirteenth century we find therefore three main currents of thought all claiming the patronage of Aristotle. One of these was openly heretical. Another so-called Augustinian current claimed to represent orthodoxy and tradition. The third current, Thomism, proclaimed its orthodoxy but had its claim treated with suspicion and hostility. How were the forces divided in the principal centres of learning? At Paris, the hub of the intellectual world in the thirteenth century, 'Augustinianism' was firmly entrenched in the faculty of theology, certainly up to the year 1277. Admirers of St. Thomas were principally found among those teaching in the faculty of arts.² Herein lay a danger to the new school, as it was in the faculty of arts that the heterodox current had its protagonists.³ Even within the Dominican Order Thomism had, and continued to have to the end of the thirteenth century and even to the beginning of the fourteenth century, opponents. But the opposition to Thomism was strongest at Oxford. There 'Augustinianism' held sway not only in the faculty of theology but also in the faculty of arts and opposition to Thomism was only to be expected.⁴ At Rome, too, as has been shown by A. Callebaut, the Augustinians were in the ascendant up to the end of the thirteenth century.⁵ The intellectual climate was, consequently, little favourable to the new movement initiated by St. Thomas. His substitution of novel doctrines for those already received and consecrated in the schools of theology

¹ Cf. F. Van Steenberghen, *Siger de Brabant* . . . , ii, 490-497, 660-662.

² P. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant* . . . , p. 100.

³ F. Van Steenberghen, *Siger de Brabant* . . . , pp. 490-497.

⁴ Cf. T. Crowley, *Roger Bacon* . . . , pp. 134, 151.

⁵ A. Callebaut, "Jean Pecham, O.F.M. et L'Augustinisme. Aperçus Historiques (1263-1285)" in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, xviii (1925), pp. 441-472.

naturally aroused suspicion and hostility. The simultaneous growth of a heterodox movement that was subversive of Christianity did not help to clarify the issue nor make for calm and deliberate judgment.

The first indication we have of official opposition to the teaching of St. Thomas is contained in one of Peckham's letters.¹ The doctrine at stake was that of unity of form. In the presence of the Bishop of Paris and masters of theology he was taken to task even by his own confreres until he submitted *all his opinions which might need correction* to the judgment of the masters. According to Roger Marston, who was present at the séance, the Thomist opinion on unity of form was condemned as contrary to the assertions and doctrines of the Fathers, and particularly of St. Augustine and St. Anselm.²

It is commonly held that two doctrines of St. Thomas came up for discussion in connection with a batch of heretical propositions condemned in 1270. This is far from being established; it is quite certain that at least one of the two doctrines in question bears no relation to the teaching of St. Thomas.³ On 7th March, 1277, a series of 219 propositions which were being taught in the faculty of arts at Paris were condemned by Stephen Tempier, Bishop of Paris. Nine of these propositions were common to St. Thomas and to the masters of the faculty of arts.⁴ On 18th March of that same year, Robert Kilwardby, O.P., Archbishop of Canterbury, condemned a series of propositions *In Grammaticalibus, In Logicalibus, In Naturalibus*. Of the

¹ *Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, ed. C. T. Martin, iii, London, 1885 (RS), DCXXV, p. 871, DCXXII, p. 866.

² M. De Wulf, *Histoire . . .*, p. 256.

³ Cf. D. A. Callus, *The Condemnation of St. Thomas . . .*, pp. 11-12. Fr. Callus, following P. Mandonnet, sees in the two theses referred to 'the two fundamental Thomist theses of the immateriality of spiritual substances and the Unity of Form, under the aspect of one of its theological implications'. But F. Van Steenberghe (*Siger de Brabant . . .*, p. 722) points out that one of these theses had nothing at all to do with the teaching of St. Thomas and that the other probably concerned a more radical position than that adopted by St. Thomas. The two propositions are quoted by Fr. Callus, *op. cit.*, p. 12, n. 1.

⁴ Cf. *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and A. Chatelain, vol. i, Paris, 1889, no. 473, pp. 543-555; F. Van Steenberghe, *Siger de Brabant . . .*, ii, 728 f.

propositions condemned *In Naturalibus* more than half affected the teaching of St. Thomas.¹

There is this difference between the action of Stephen Tempier and that taken by Robert Kilwardby. The former was supported in his action by doctors of sacred scripture and other prudent men, the latter acted with the consent of all the masters of the University, regent and non-regent.² It is of little avail to explain or, worse still, to explain away the opposition of Kilwardby to the teaching of St. Thomas. What is significant is the complete lack of support for the teaching of St. Thomas among the masters at Oxford in 1277. Kilwardby stresses, in his reply to Peter of Conflans, that he was supported not only by theologians but by philosophers as well: "*Solus non fui in ista prohibitionem, immo, ut scripsistis, omnium magistrorum Oxoniae assensus accessit et etiam multorum magis provectorum, quam sim ego, theologorum et philosophorum suasio compulit ad hoc ipsum*".³

It is important, too, to remark that Kilwardby does not rely solely on the authority of St. Augustine to provide a refutation of the opinions of St. Thomas; on the contrary, he relies mainly on Aristotle. It is quite certain that Kilwardby opposed St. Thomas not as an 'Augustinian' opposing an 'Aristotelian' but as a Christian philosopher opposing what he considered doctrine savouring of heresy.

If we are to believe P. Mandonnet and Dom Knowles this action of Kilwardby brought about his removal from the See of Canterbury.⁴ *Promoveatur ut removeatur!* The manoeuvre is not unknown in ecclesiastical diplomacy but it certainly does not apply in Kilwardby's case. Pope John XXI died on 20th May, 1277, and his successor, Nicholas III, was elected on 25th November of the same year. On 12th March, 1278, the new Pope created nine cardinals including two Dominicans and two Franciscans—all four representatives of the 'Augustinian'

¹ Cf. *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, i, no. 474, pp. 558-559.

² *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, i, no. 474, p. 558.

³ This letter has been edited by F. Ehrle, *Der Augustinismus . . .*, pp. 614-632. The passage quoted above occurs on p. 614.

⁴ P. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant . . .*, i, 252 f. The opinion of P. Mandonnet is accepted by Dom Knowles, *The Religious Orders . . .*, p. 229.

school.¹ At about the same time or, perhaps, a little earlier, John Peckham was appointed *lector palatii* in the Roman Curia.² On 28th January, 1279, Peckham was appointed to the See of Canterbury and his confrere, Matthew of Aquasparta, a disciple of St. Bonaventure, became *lector palatii* in his place. Kilwardby, therefore, is not likely to have suffered because of his anti-Thomist attitude. Besides, if the Thomists were in any way responsible for Kilwardby's removal from Canterbury they assuredly showed little *savoir faire* since he would be a much more redoubtable enemy at Rome than at Oxford. It may be asked, too, if they were influential enough to have Kilwardby removed from Canterbury, why did they not succeed in preventing the appointment of Peckham whose teaching was well known at Rome, at Paris and at Oxford?

The action of Kilwardby in prohibiting the teaching of certain theses of St. Thomas, in particular that of unity of form, was continued by Peckham. But the circumstances had changed in one important respect. In 1278, at the general chapter held at Milan, the Dominicans decreed that an inquiry should be instituted without delay into the conduct of those Dominicans in England who had spoken adversely of the writings of Thomas Aquinas, and the visitors charged with the inquiry were given full power to punish, exile and deprive of office those who had so acted.³ In 1279, the general chapter assembled at Paris decreed that all those who spoke or wrote irreverently or in unbecoming fashion of St. Thomas or his writings should be severely punished.⁴ As the result of these decrees, the situation during Peckham's tenure of office was a much more difficult one for all concerned. In fact the story is rather a tragic one.

When we come to examine the scope, the nature and the result of Peckham's intervention in these scholastic debates, our only documents are a series of letters, some written *motu proprio*, some provoked by the attacks of which he, in his person,

¹ Cf. A. Callebaut, Jean Peckham . . . , p. 465.

² Cf. A. G. Little, "The Franciscan School at Oxford". *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, xix (1926), pp. 852 f.; A. Callebaut, Jean Peckham . . . , p. 25.

³ For the text see A. Callebaut, Jean Peckham . . . , p. 25.

⁴ A. Callebaut, Jean Peckham . . . , p. 26, n. 4.

in his Order or in his Office, was the object. In considering the second type of letter an attempt must be made to determine the nature and tone of these attacks; the letters cannot be interpreted apart from the historical context in which they were composed. It appears to me that neither Dom Knowles nor Fr. Callus have paid sufficient attention to this aspect of the problem, with the result that they do not present a complete and unbiased account of Peckham's action. In November 1284, Peckham, in the course of his canonical visitation, visited the University of Oxford and renewed Kilwardby's condemnation, making special reference to the doctrine of unity of form.¹ Several questions arise in connection with this act of Peckham. In the first place, was his visitation of the University a routine affair or did Peckham, as Dom Knowles suggests, act with special design? In the second place, did Peckham make known beforehand that while at Oxford he would proceed against supporters of the doctrine of unity of form?² There is no reason to believe that Peckham's visit was other than routine. As early as 16th July, 1284, he had announced his intention to postpone his metropolitical visitation of the diocese of Lincoln until the day after the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross; this he did to accommodate both clergy and people.³ In his visit to Oxford, consequently, there is no sign of intemperate haste, no indication that Peckham was haunted by the spectre of unity of form. It is but natural to infer that a certain agitation would be caused among the masters of the University, particularly among those who disregarded Kilwardby's condemnation and were familiar with Peckham's views, which had been openly professed for many years at Oxford, at Paris and at Rome.⁴ In addition, feeling at Oxford must have been against the young and ardent Thomist school. But seven or eight years before, all the masters, regent and non-regent, had concurred in the condemnation of the Thomist teaching. There is nothing to show that the attitude of masters not in the Dominican Order

¹ *Registrum Epistolarum* . . . , ed. C. T. Martin, iii, DCVIII, pp. 840-843.

² M. D. Knowles, *Some Aspects* . . . , p. 187; *The Religious Orders* . . . , p. 231.

³ *Registrum Epistolarum* . . . , iii, DLXXVI, pp. 788-789.

⁴ *Ibid.*, DCXLV, p. 900.

had radically changed in the meanwhile. The masters who were hostile to the teaching of Thomas Aquinas and who, in good faith, genuinely believed it to be hostile to the Catholic Faith, would have appealed to Peckham to take the necessary steps to prevent the spreading of false doctrine. In the instance, Peckham's silence would have been as eloquent as the pronouncement he actually made. No more than this is required to explain the visit of the Dominican Provincial, William of Hothum, to Sonning on 22nd October, 1284. In the course of an interview, Peckham informed him that, on the occasion of his visit to Oxford, he intended to renew Kilwardby's condemnation of Thomist teaching on unity of form. Are we to infer from this that Peckham's action at Oxford, 'was not due to any information brought to his notice in the course of his visitation'?¹ To do so would be to over-simplify the question. It is quite improbable that the Oxford masters who had anti-Thomist leanings and who had concurred in Kilwardby's action had not already made representations in the proper quarter. In fact Peckham had been informed that the 'errors' condemned by Kilwardby had again been resuscitated. Roger Marston, Peckham's pupil, was regent in the Franciscan school between 1280 and 1284,² and Fr. Callus has recalled Marston's 'impetuous invectives' against Thomas Aquinas.³ It is unlikely then that Peckham was not perfectly well informed on the point of issue because of information received. In the course of the interview at Sonning, Dom Knowles informs us that Peckham 'asserted somewhat disingenuously, that he was not going to Oxford to attack the Preachers or their opinions, but merely to reiterate some decrees of his predecessor affecting the faculty of arts'.⁴ We are not told what purpose this disingenuousness could serve, nor are we told whom Peckham was trying to deceive. In fact, there is no disingenuousness in Peckham's statement. He informed Hothum that he intended in no way to abuse the

¹ *Registrum Epistolarum* . . . , iii, DCXXII, p. 865; M. D. Knowles, *Some Aspects* . . . , p. 187.

² Cf. A. G. Little and F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians (1282-1302)*, Oxford, 1934, pp. 94-95.

³ D. A. Callus, *The Condemnation* . . . , pp. 32-33.

⁴ M. D. Knowles, *Some Aspects* . . . , p. 187.

Dominican Order or its opinions *pro eo quod sunt ordinis*¹ but for other reasons. He was actuated not by animosity towards the Dominicans but by love of what he conceived to be the Catholic truth. Before reaching Oxford, Dom Knowles asserts, Peckham "took care to enlist the support of the diocesan, the Bishop of Lincoln".² But, it may be asked, did Peckham need to enlist the support of the Bishop? Was the Bishop of Lincoln indifferent to what was being taught at Oxford? We know that he was one of the Bishops present at the Council held in London on 30th April, 1286, at which the opinions of the Thomists were condemned.³ Perhaps he was the one who informed Peckham in the first instance that the thesis of unity of form was again being taught at Oxford. There is no reason to insinuate that Peckham was the originator and prime mover in a campaign to have the Thomist thesis condemned. To dissociate Peckham's action from its immediate and mediate historical context can only lead to misunderstanding and misrepresentation. In one only of the series of letters dealing with this episode do we find the 'emphatic' language which Fr. Callus so strongly resents.⁴ Whether, even in the letter to which I refer, the language is 'unrestrained and undignified' is a matter of personal appreciation. In the Middle Ages authors more frequently resorted to biblical metaphor in the composition of their epistles than we do in this twentieth century, and those familiar with medieval documents will not be shocked at Peckham's vocabulary. The provocation was indeed great. Apart from the letter to which I refer, the force of the seventh proposition condemned by the Council of London can scarcely be understood. This proposition reads: *quod qui vult ista docere non tenetur in talibus fidem adhibere auctoritati papae, vel Gregorii vel Augustini et similium, aut cuiuscunque magistri; sed tantum auctoritati Bibliae, et necessariae rationi*.⁵ Dom

¹ *Registrum Epistolarum* . . . , iii, DCXXII, p. 865.

² M. D. Knowles, *Some Aspects* . . . , p. 188.

³ *Registrum Epistolarum* . . . , iii, DCLXI, p. 921.

⁴ This letter, one of the most abstruse in the collection, is essential to an understanding of Peckham's action. *Registrum Epistolarum* . . . , iii, DCXLV, pp. 896-902.

⁵ *Registrum Epistolarum* . . . , iii, DCLXI, p. 923.

Knowles is of the opinion that this proposition 'can scarcely have been held in that form by Knapwell'.¹ But Peckham's letter of 1st June, 1285, addressed to the Bishop of Lincoln, reveals the possible source of this error as a *maledicta pagina et infame folium* circulated by a Dominican—one who had no small opinion of himself—*non modicus suo sensu*. The description is not exaggerated: the writer compared himself to the apostle Paul withstanding Peter—*Paulo se Apostolo comparavit, Petrum deficientem humanitus arguentum*. If the writer of this pamphlet was really Knapwell, the sentence of excommunication passed on him by the Council of London need cause no surprise, for the pamphlet, of which Peckham's letter gives us some idea, contained statements that no ecclesiastical authority could tolerate. Fr. Callus assures us that the 'Dominicans stood for the noble ideal of greater freedom of thought and a more complete intellectual emancipation'.² This may well be; but one of them at least carried the campaign too far. Respect for properly constituted ecclesiastical authority imposes obligations which are sometimes trying and we can sympathise with victims of harsh or ill-considered action. But rebellion is scarcely the weapon with which to vindicate right in matters of ecclesiastical discipline.

It is to be noted how Peckham contrasts the attitude of the *humilis doctor*, Thomas Aquinas, of whom he never speaks in an unbecoming manner (unlike some Dominicans, as we may infer from the decrees of the general chapters of 1278 and 1279), with that of his disciples at Oxford. Perhaps the disciples were not worthy of the master. It is to be noted, too, with what care expressions occurring in Peckham's letters should be interpreted. Considering the circumstances under which these letters were written and the nature of the campaign being carried on at Oxford, too great importance should not be attached to those passages in which Peckham appeals to the authority of St. Augustine. I am inclined to consider them rather in the light of a defence of the authority of St. Augustine than as a manoeuvre to discredit his opponents. To consider three passages from these letters as a kind of manifesto of medieval Augustinianism

¹ Some Aspects . . . , p. 190.

² *The Condemnation* . . . , p. 20.

is to ignore the nature of the documents and to disregard their historical context.¹ Peckham is not making charges; he is answering them. He shows no hostility to Aristotle; on the contrary, Aristotle is for him *clarissimus philosophus*. Peckham combats the philosophy of Aquinas by arguments drawn from Aristotle as well as from St. Augustine. His identification of the active intellect (*intellectus agens*) with God, a doctrine which some consider the hall-mark of medieval 'Augustinianism', Peckham confirms by an appeal to Aristotle.² A struggle (*Kampf, lutte*) against Aristotle is one campaign in which Peckham took no part.

I have previously referred to the tragic element in the situation which had arisen between Peckham and the Oxford Dominicans. If Kilwardby and Peckham were animated by motives of pride or personal animosity, their action should be severely judged. There are no grounds, however, for suggesting, as P. Mandonnet and Dom Knowles do, that Kilwardby feared loss of popularity or of prestige. Such a motive would not have merited for him the everlasting blessing that he thought he deserved: *Et reputo me pro facto meo benedictionem sempiternam meruisse*.³ Few will question the good faith of either Kilwardby or Peckham and, granting *bona fides*, few, I believe, will be surprised that they condemned what they considered contrary to the Catholic faith.⁴ The action of the Council of London was, however, too drastic and betrays a lack of balanced judgment in condemning as *heretical* the doctrine of unity of form. Was

¹ This is the procedure adopted in the article "Augustinisme" in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, i, 2e partie, col. 2508.

² "Intellectus siquidem agens, de quo Philosophus loquitur, non est usquequaque pars animae, sed Deus est, sicut credo. . . . Ipse enim solus est, cui conveniunt omnes proprietates illae nobiles, de quibus loquitur Philosophus. Quia est immixtus, impassibilis, et semper omnia intelligens, cuius substantia est sua actio. . . ." (*Iohannis Pechami Questiones tractantes de anima*, ed. H. Spettmann: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, xix, 5-6, Münster, i. W., 1918, p. 73).

³ F. Ehrle, *Der Augustinismus* . . ., p. 632, l. 27 f.

⁴ Of Kilwardby's action Fr. Callus writes: "The good faith and sincerity of Kilwardby are beyond doubt. His deep conviction of the opinions he upheld, his loyalty to what he considered to be the truth is evident in each line of his writings" (*The Condemnation* . . ., p. 16). The tribute can, of course, be extended to Peckham.

Rome unaware of this act? Peckham's relations with certain cardinals of the Rome curia seem to me to render this improbable. Whatever the answer to this question, it remains that Peckham's final action in the drama was too severe and, as Fr. Callus has pointed out, was so judged by his contemporaries.¹

Dom Knowles seems to think that Peckham's reputation for sanctity was undeserved. Does any historian need to be reminded that even in religious Orders (should I write 'especially' in religious Orders?) reputations for sanctity are not easily acquired. To discuss whether this reputation was merited or not in Peckham's case would be beyond the scope of the present article. Judgment on Peckham's personal sanctity of life is a matter which could quite prudently have been left to his contemporaries. But in discussing Peckham's relations with Thomas Aquinas there is one point which should not be overlooked, and it is this. In a controversy which was often bitter and in which the opinions of Thomas and of Peckham and his Order clashed; in a controversy in which Peckham's personal character was defamed by his adversaries, and, lastly, in a controversy in which Peckham represented might if not right, not one word escapes Peckham which does not redound to the personal glory of Thomas Aquinas. No more effective refutation of the legendary John of Pisa (!) of Bartholomew of Capua could be desired.²

¹ *The Condemnation* . . . , p. 37.

² Cf. P. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant* . . . , ii, 98-103; J. D'Albi, *Saint Bonaventure* . . . , pp. 109-138; A. Callebaut, *Jean Peckham* . . . , pp. 443-451.

‘ IN THE QUICK FORGE AND WORKING-HOUSE OF
THOUGHT . . . ’ LANCASHIRE AND SHROPSHIRE
AND THE YOUNG SHAKESPEARE

By ALAN KEEN

WHEN, in 1940, the late Librarian invited me to contribute a brief paper on my recently discovered “ Shakespearian ” copy of Edward Hall’s *Chronicle* to the October issue of the BULLETIN, I did not then, in the morning of my enthusiasm and hope, even dare to anticipate than ten years hence, in 1950, my researches would uncover the key to the centuries-old mystery of Shakespeare’s “ hidden years ”. My thanks are due to Professor Edward Robertson, who, following the publication of my special article “ A Shakespearian Riddle ” in *The Times Literary Supplement* of 21st April, 1950, renewed the invitation of his predecessor, Dr. Guppy, and made it possible for me to return to the BULLETIN, bringing as it were, trophies of a long chase to its pages.

To recapitulate. My original contribution dealt with the presence of several hundred marginal annotations in an Elizabethan hand within an imperfect copy of Hall’s *Union of the Noble Houses of Lancaster and York*, of such a nature as to suggest a Shakespearian origin. The notes covered the regnal period of Henry IV and Henry V. As, however, Hall began his history with the deposition and murder of Richard II the materials were already present to form the basis of Shakespeare’s tetralogy. With the end of the reign of Henry V the marginalia stopped. Thereafter were noted a curious marginal “ doodle ” resembling a comic face against that portion of the text relative to the “ foolishe souldier ”, which became Shakespeare’s own Bardolph in Henry V, and, many folios later, the autograph of the first owner of the book, “ Rychard Newport ” with his initials “ R.N. ” and elsewhere the date “ 6 Aprill a° 1565 ”. Readers of the original article in the BULLETIN may recall an attempt to identify the particular Richard Newport of this

connexion; an impossible task at that time, there being *two* Richard Newports living in 1565, and, as the public records were evacuated, no comparison could be made between the two Newport autographs (known to be among the Crown collections) and the "Rychard Newport" of the annotated *Chronicle*.

It may be imagined with what alacrity those of us who believed in the probability of Shakespeare being the annotator leapt, if prematurely, upon the task of identifying our Rychard Newport with one of that name who was owner of Hunningham in the County of Warwick from 1544 to the date of his death, 11th November, 1565. This Rychard Newport, through marriage of his daughter and various other ties, was closely connected with the prominent Warwickshire family of Underhill, one of whom, his son-in-law, in 1567, when Shakespeare was three years old, bought New Place in Stratford-on-Avon. His son sold New Place to Shakespeare in 1597. However attractive this identification seemed to be, the return of the public records at the end of the second world war, and comparison of autographs, blew our neatly-laid provenance sky high. The owner of our annotated *Chronicle*—the *other* Sir Rychard Newport—was of High Ercall in Shropshire, and, curiously enough, a cousin to the Sir Rychard of Warwickshire.

If we were disappointed we had at least not drawn a blank. This new Sir Richard Newport, though for our hopes inferior to the Newport of Warwickshire, still remained useful, his daughter Magdalen having married into the Herbert family and besides being a literary patroness herself, had had a number of children, amongst whom were Edward (subsequently Lord Herbert of Cherbury) and George Herbert the poet.

There the matter rested for some years, until by a curious chance a manuscript *Visitation* of Shropshire (which has been described elsewhere) shed a sudden and brilliant light upon the Newport connexions, from Shropshire and the Welsh Marches into Cheshire and Lancashire . . . Derbyshire and Warwickshire . . . joining the families of Herbert, Leveson, Fitton, Holcroft, Hesketh and Hoghton; leading to those of Englefield, Throckmorton, Gratwood, Vernon, Corbet, Arden, Sheldon, Savage, Hall, Blount and Reynolds—all of which

families had direct or indirect concern or relation with William Shakespeare! My article "A Shakespearian Riddle" (to which I have already referred) enlarged upon what may be termed the "Shropshire circle", and may be usefully consulted since it is, perhaps, a contribution to Shakespearian genealogy. As a certain "William Shakeshafte" made his appearance within the Hoghton-Hesketh connexions, an attempt was made to carry the reader back through Shropshire into Lancashire to discover the "lost" years of Shakespeare *via* the autograph of Sir Richard Newport in the annotated copy of Hall's *Chronicle*.

Since then I have been concerned with bringing into clearer focus the tantalising "William Shakeshafte". This young man, who had already been suspected of being William Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon, received a legacy under the will of his master, Alexander Hoghton of Lea, Lancashire, in 1581, and, in company with the transfer of sundry instruments of music and play-clothes, was commended to Sir Thomas Hesketh of Rufford. Thus provided with the means to marry, it is probable that William returned home and stayed with his wife for such a period of time until either ambition, or weight of paternal responsibility, or both, urged him to present his credentials at the great house of Rufford, there to join the Hesketh players.

Why "Shakeshafte"? There is no reason why the young William Shakespeare should not have, perhaps for theatrical reasons, adopted the variation used by his paternal grandfather, Richard, who appears in the Snitterfield Records as both Shakespeare and Shakeshafte.

Let us for a moment return to the beginning of it all. Professor Dover Wilson in his *Essential Shakespeare* sharply accents the recusancy or "old religion" of John Shakespeare, William's father, which brought him heavy trouble in the town where he had been held in public esteem, and observes that such a circumstance may have forced John to seek other means than the Protestant Grammar School for the education of his son. "There were" continues Professor Dover Wilson, "excellent alternatives . . . which would be fitter nurseries for dramatic genius and more in keeping with that passion for music which we know Shakespeare possessed. If, for example, he

received his education as a singing-boy in the service of some great Catholic nobleman it would help to explain how he became an actor, since the transition from singing-boy to stage-player was almost as inevitable at that period as the breaking of the male voice in adolescence." Moreover Canon Raines in 1836 had discounted Aubrey's statement that William had been a butcher's boy who *when he kill'd a calfe . . . would doe it in a high style, and make a speech*. Canon Raines pointed to the old dramatic representation of *Killing the Calf* and asked: "Was this the calf that Shakespeare killed?" Of course. It is clear that the youthful William was skilled in the pseudo-ventriloquial diversion of 'throwing his voice' into the dummy head of a calf pushed through a curtain. If we look in *Hamlet* (Act III, sc. ii, 105) we find Shakespeare's own allusion to this popular 'turn' beloved of his youth:

HAMLET: (to Polonius) My lord, you play'd once i' th' university, you say?

POLONIUS: That did I, my lord; and was accounted a good actor.

HAMLET: And what did you enact?

POLONIUS: I did enact Julius Caesar: I was kill'd i' th' Capital; Brutus kill'd me.

HAMLET: It was a brute part of him to kill so capital a calf there,—Be the players ready?

The autobiographical significance of this allusion has, I may add, apparently escaped the notice of Professor Dover Wilson, or indeed any other editor of whom I am aware. It also brings into a new perspective the joint attacks on the young Shakeshafte-turning-Shakespeare by Greene and Nashe. We have only to glance back to Nashe's preface to his friend Greene's *Menaphon*, of 1589, where in a clear reference to the player-poet he includes him among "the alchemists of eloquence, who (mounted on the stage of arrogance) think to outbrave better pens with the swelling bombast of bragging blank verse, indeed it may be the ingrafted overflow of some *killcow* conceit". The italics are mine.

Thus were the seeds of Greene's anger (which flowered in the open attack upon Shakespeare, written by Greene on his deathbed in 1592) sown from this early jealousy of the provincial player. And no wonder. Shakespeare had then in 1589, on the death of Sir Thomas Hesketh the year before,

left Rufford Old Hall and the Hesketh players and joined the company of Ferdinando, Lord Strange. Greene had earlier sought the patronage of the Derbys, and in first dedicating *The Myrrour of Modestie* to the Countess of Derby in 1584, followed confidently with *Ciceronis Amor*, *Tullies Loue*, to her son Ferdinando in 1589, regarding himself as well established in their favour. The advent and sudden popularity of the "up-start crow," invading the territory hitherto ruled over by university pens, dethroned Greene. At the end of the few bitter and penurious years left to him, the dying poet dipped his quill in gall and penned, in 1592, a last sneer at *the only Shake-scene in a country*.

If family connexions were the means of passing "Shakeshafte" into the household at Lea Hall, he may have met with both Protestant and Catholic influences there, for though Alexander Hoghton, his new master, was a Protestant, his brother's wife apparently was not. After the death of Alexander she was reported to the Government for keeping at Lea "an obstinate Papist well acquainted with seminaries and he was teaching the children to sing and plaie upon the virginalls". At all events, the young "Shakeshafte" seems to have especially earned his master's regard, which put money in his purse and placed his foot on the second rung of the ladder—Rufford, the nursery of his genius.

There has been for a very long time in the peaceful Lancashire village of Rufford the oral tradition that Shakespeare had been at the old Hall as a young man. While the text of the Hoghton will, printed by the Rev. G. J. Piccope in the second part of his *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills* (Chetham Society II, 237) in 1860, offers confirmation of this tradition, there does not then seem to have been any widespread interest aroused by its significance; not, indeed, until 1937 when the late Mr. Oliver Baker discussed the possibility of "Shakeshafte" being Shakespeare.

Among the many things in relation to Shakespeare and Rufford for which I am indebted to Mr. Geoffrey M. Brown, O.B.E. (who is a member of The National Trust Rufford Old Hall Management Committee) is the introduction to Mr. Philip

Ashcroft, junior, the founder of the Folk Museum at Rufford Old Hall, of which he is Hon. Curator, and whose family has been in Rufford since the fourteenth century. Mr. Ashcroft tells me that his maternal grandfather, Lawrence Alty, passed this oral tradition of "Shakeshafte" to his daughter, Mr. Ashcroft's mother, who told it to him. It may be added that Alty was born at Rufford, in 1837, and died there in 1912 aged seventy-five. Tradition dies hard. It may well be that the Alty-Ashcroft survival is the continuance of perhaps a seventeenth-century foundation.

The will of Alexander Hoghton directed that if his brother Thomas did not care to "keppe and manteyne playeres" then the "Instrument(es) belonging to mewsyck(es) (and) all man(er) of playeclothes" were to become the property of "Sir Thomas Heskethe Knyghte". That (at least) the 'Instruments of music' did in fact pass to Sir Thomas seems clear from the recent fortuitous discovery by Lord Hesketh at Easton Neston, Town-caster, of several early musical instruments among household effects removed some years ago from Rufford Old Hall. In this connexion an inventory of goods of "Robert Heskethe late of Rufforth, esq" of 16th November, 1620 (now preserved among the County Records at Preston) includes among "Instruments of Musique (ap)praised" . . . 'vyolls' . . . 'vyolentes' . . . 'virginalls' 'sagbutts, howboies and cornetts', with 'cithron, flute, taber pypes'. The instruments may easily be the very same which humoured Shakespeare to sprinkle generously certain of his plays with proper names and allusions, as, Simon Catling, Hugh Rebeck and James Soundpost. These suggest that they were players of stringed instruments, but as one of them says:

Faith, we may put up our pipes and be gone,

it is clear that they enter playing on wind instruments, either shawms or recorders, and these (cf. Edward J. Dent, 'Shakespeare and Music'; *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, Cambridge, 1946) would sound more effective than strings when played behind the scenes. As to the viol, Mr. Dent observes: "Any gentleman of Education might be expected to play upon the viol—upon the viol-da-gamba, at least. Though we do not

see him put to the test, Sir Toby Belch boasts that Sir Andrew Aguecheek ‘ . . . plays o’ the viol de gamboys ’.”

Additional proof that the Hoghton-Hesketh instruments, and in particular the cornet, were ‘ theatrical ’ in usage is sustained by a further statement of Mr. Dent’s from Mr. W. J. Lawrence’s *Shakespeare’s Workshop*, 1928, p. 48. “ The tone of the cornet was something like that of a trumpet, but softer ; and in the ‘ private ’ or indoor theatres it seems—probably for this reason—to have replaced the louder instrument.”

A further note from Easton Neston, which sounds as sweetly as music to our ears, is the recollection by a local solicitor at Towcester, that in some title-deeds that passed through his hands before the last war he noticed the name Shakeshafte, which in later documents had been changed to Shakespeare. Lord Hesketh has ordered a search for these documents, and so in the meantime we must keep both patience and judgment in check.

Professor Hotson has already told us of two of William Shakespeare’s trustees, to whom Shakespeare and four of his fellows in 1599 granted their half-interest in the ground lease of the Globe Theatre—William Leveson and Thomas Savage. Leveson was kindred with the ‘ Shropshire circle ’ of the Newports, and like Savage was intimate with Heminges and Condell. At the death of Thomas Savage in 1611, his will revealed bequests of forty shillings to the poor of Rufford ‘ where I was borne ’ and twenty shillings to his cousin, the widow of Thomas Hesketh of Rufford. As Professor Hotson remarks that we may have here an astonishing coincidence and nothing more, I would ask him to consider the Savage-Oldys connexion, with which I will presently deal.

Perhaps I may add another ‘ coincidence ’. Let us look towards the Welsh border and sight a young squire with his newly-wedded wife. They are travelling to the County Palatine of Lancaster to visit Knowsley, the seat of the Earl of Derby. In a previous article I referred to John Salisbury of Lleweni, co. Denbigh ; and to Shakespeare’s contribution of a cryptic poem *The Phoenix and Turtle* to a volume of verse entitled *Love’s Martyr*, by Robert Chester, a retainer of Salisbury, published in 1601, to celebrate the knighthood of his patron.

I had assumed that a friendship between Salisbury and Shakespeare, made perhaps earlier in the country and renewed in London (Salisbury left his Welsh estate in 1595 to enter the Inner Temple), existed. My assumption may indeed be right when we consider the circumstances surrounding the visit to Knowsley of the young squire and his bride.

John Salisbury had succeeded to the family estate of Lleweni in 1586, and a few months later married Ursula Stanley the natural daughter of Henry Stanley, 4th Earl of Derby. Salisbury, himself a poet, held open house to men of letters, especially local bards, among whom was Robert Chester. To Knowsley then came Salisbury and his wife in August 1587, the event being recorded by William Farington, the steward, in the Household Book: "on Saterdag Mr. Salusbury and his wiefte and unkell came". The couple departed on 28th August, and Salisbury appears to have returned later in the year from the entry of 15th December: "Mr. Skaresbrike came and also Mr. Salesbury". I must add that "Mr. Salusbury" and "Mr. Salesbury" are positively identified with our John Salisbury of Lleweni by Canon Raines in his edition for the Chetham Society of *The Derby Household Books* (1853, Chetham Soc. xxxi). Farington notes the departure from Knowsley of Salisbury two days later. A brief stay, from which it is perhaps evident that the young squire was alone and returned to his own rooftree for Christmas. That Salisbury met "Shakeshafte" at Knowsley during those two days of December 1587, or even earlier when Salisbury was there with his bride (Farington was an erratic recorder), is quite possible, indeed probable, for Sir Thomas Hesketh's players were at Knowsley in December 1587. Sir Edmund Chambers in his *William Shakeshafte* (*Gleanings*, Oxford 1944) refers to what he calls an odd entry by Farington under 30th December, "On Saturday Sr. Tho. Hesketh, Players went awaie", and later adds 'I should like to be sure about that comma'. Luckily the printed text of Canon Raines' transcription was in error. Thanks to the late J. Ernest Jarratt (who was also a Member of the Rufford Old Hall Management Committee, and whose unpublished studies of Shakespeare's Lancashire have been presented to the Atkinson Free Library,

Southport), Sir Edmund's doubt is set at rest. Mr. Jarratt saw the original MS. Household Book on its return from war-time evacuation, and the entry is undoubted. There is no comma. "On Saturday Sr. Tho. Hesketh Players went awaie." Remembering that *The Phoenix and Turtle* had been fully discussed by the late Professor Quincy Adams in his *A Life of William Shakespeare* (London, Constable 1923), I turned to his pages and there read his curiously interesting statement that his poem, to celebrate the union of John Salisbury and Ursula Stanley, was written *about* 1587. The italics are again mine. The poem, a graceful compliment by the young Hesketh player to his host Lord Derby and his daughter Ursula, if an astonishing performance at his then age of twenty-four years, may indeed be the "first heir" of his invention and thus precedes *Venus and Adonis*. I would incline to the view that the latter, his first *published* work, ignored *The Phoenix and Turtle* written earlier, but was no doubt re-polished, even re-written, for inclusion with the Chester volume of 1601.

We must now consider the ties connecting "Shakeshafte"—the embryo Shakespeare—with Rufford. The names of Hoghton, Hesketh, Salisbury and Savage have come to us, the last two appearing at the beginning of his career and re-appearing at the zenith of it as intimates of both Court and Theatre. This brings me to my promised note on the Savage-Oldys connexion, which to my mind is extremely pertinent to the foregoing. Mr. E. A. B. Barnard, F.S.A., in the introduction to his *New Links with Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 1930), tells of his discovery of some documents in a chest at Hanley Court, near Tenbury, Worcester, in 1925. Two of these documents were directly concerned with the actor Henry Condell, friend of Shakespeare and co-editor of the First Folio of his *Comedies, Histories and Tragedies*, and the remainder (most curiously and fortuitously) have connexion with the "Shakespearian" families distinguished by Mr. Norman Long-Brown and outlined in my *T.L.S.* article of 21st April. The Hanley Court Collection, Mr. Barnard states, "was originally made through the medium of Cecilia Oldys, by her marriage with Walter Savage of Broadway, who died before the 21st September, 1721—

and afterwards with John Newport of Hanley Court. She was born in 1694, her father being the Rev. Thomas Oldys, of Tingewick near Buckingham, who for many years possessed the rectory of Quinton, co. Gloucester, lying off the main road between Broadway and Stratford-upon-Avon. As Cecilia Newport, she is still commemorated in the old church of St. Eadburgha at Broadway . . . her death is recorded as having taken place on 21st March, 1766, when she was aged seventy-two. John Newport had died in 1760 aged sixty." Cecilia's father, the Rev. Thomas Oldys, was related to William Oldys (1696-1761) the antiquary and Norry King-of-Arms, of whom the statement is made that he "had engaged to furnish a bookseller in the Strand, whose name was Walker, with ten years of the life of Shakespeare unknown to the biographers and commentators, but he died and made no sign of the projected work".

As Cecilia's first husband, Walter Savage, was a descendant of the Northern family from which we have noticed Thomas Savage of Rufford, who was Shakespeare's friend, then it seems likely that some account of the early years and beginnings of Shakespeare in Lancashire and Shropshire was given orally by Walter Savage to William Oldys. Cecilia, her husband and the antiquary were exact contemporaries so time is in agreement with such a possibility.

With the death in 1588 of Sir Thomas Hesketh, the established and rising poet-player entered the service of Ferdinando, Lord Strange. He must from that time have been preoccupied with dramatic composition, and it would now seem that in 1590-1591 Shakespeare interrupted his travels with Strange's Men to become Playwright, and retired into the peaceful lands of Shropshire to work under some hospitable and sympathetic roof—most likely that of Magdalen Herbert, friend of Donne and patroness of literature. Her father, Sir Richard Newport, Lord of Ercall, the first owner of the annotated *Chronicle*, had died in 1570, and it is quite possible that Shakespeare had the copy from Magdalen at either of the two Shropshire houses of her inheritance, High Ercall, or Eyton-on-Severn.

The *locale* of the great house at High Ercall would then be of absorbing interest to the poet, his mind set upon the braveries

of the York-Lancaster play-cycle. Nearby Hatley Field set for him the scene of the Battle of Shrewsbury in the first part of *Henry IV*, to the east of which may be seen Haughmond Hill which King Henry calls "*yon bosky hill*", while Jack Falstaff's glorious lie of how he and Hotspur rose "*both at an instant and fought a long hour by Shrewsbury clock*" certainly provoked the topical if anachronistic allusion to the newly-erected, arcaded Cloth Hall of 1595 in Shrewsbury Market Place, a prominent feature of which is its clock. Also at Shrewsbury in 1591 had appeared '*one master Bancks, a Staffordshire gentelman*', who, '*brought into this towne a white horse whiche woldd doe wonderfull and strange thinges . . .*' When Shakespeare, three years later was busy upon '*Love's Labour's Lost*' he remembered, and gave credit to, the peculiar intelligence of the *dancing horse*. At the other Newport house, walks *on the gentle Severn's sedgy bank, by swift Severn's flood*, gave to Shakespeare that first-hand knowledge of the river which he shows by the above lines from *Henry IV* and again in a further reference to the *sandy-bottom'd Severn*. Natives of Eyton-on-Severn will attest the fact that the river-bed here is indeed so.

But if these topographical echoes are in themselves inconclusive evidence of any *prolonged* stay in the country by Shakespeare, we stand upon much firmer ground when we regard the presence of both Lancashire and (in the majority) Shropshire words, in the early plays. We must not, however, lose sight of the book itself which, as we have seen, has given us the remarkable clue to the poet's 'hidden years' and holds the all-important evidence of Shakespeare's work and life.

If we can accept the annotated Hall's *Chronicle* as being Shakespeare's own working copy during his Salopian retreat, we see at once that veritable flow of ideas which accompanied his attentive reading of the black-letter text . . . ideas which while having direct bearing upon the historical tetralogy, also allowed for other infusions into the Comedies. Let us then, for a moment, look over the shoulder of 'our bending author' as he opens the thick folio and begins the '*introduccion into the history of Kyng Henry the fourthe*'. Turning fol. i his eye catches the line '*. . . so that al men (more clerer then the sonne)*

may apparantly perceiue, that as by discorde great thynges decaie and fall to ruyne, so the same by concorde be reuiued and erected'. Turning back for wider margin he takes his quill and swiftly writes the couplet :

" by concorde smalle
thinges doithe growe
by discorde gret thinges
dothe awaye flowe "

Thereafter we could find direct employment of both theme and words in poems and plays, as, for example :

" Small herbs have grace, great weeds do grow apace "
(*Richard III*)

" Small lights are soon blown out, huge fires abide "
(*Lucrece*)

" How shall we find the concord of this discord ? "

" . . . I never heard so musical a discord . . . (and)

" How comes this gentle concord . . . "
(*A Midsummer Night's Dream*)

Shakespeare's darting mind had captured more in that line of the old chronicler than a play on the words concord and discord ; the bracketed '*more clerer then the sonne*' flew direct into the speech of the scheming Archbishop of Canterbury in the first act of *King Henry V*. To sum up his most plausible statement of the claim of Harry to the crown of France, the Archbishop declares the rigmarole to be

" . . . as clear as is the summer's sun "

Shakespeare seems to like the 'introduccion' of Hall, and we follow him to that of '*The victorious actes of Kyng Henry the fifth*'. Again, on the turn of the first leaf, he stops and smiles at the 'lusty and flourishing stile' of the chronicler. . . . *This prince was almost the Arabical Phenix, and emongest his predecessors a very Paragon* : We find the transmutation in Act IV, scene ii of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* :

QUINCE : Yea, and the best person too ; and
he is a very paramour for a sweet voice.

FLUTE : You must say 'paragon' : a paramour is,
god bless us, a thing of naught.

One or two coincidences seem to have been marked by Blakeway,¹ who points to the wretched summer of 1594, and Shakespeare's fine lines upon it in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which, he asserts, correspond exactly with the several manifestations of the distemperature under which the good folk of Shropshire suffered. The same editor refers to a broil on the Sessions day of 1589, between Vaughans and Newports, and observes "Shakespeare we see needed not to have travelled so far as Verona for a scene parallel to the Montagues and Capulets. Mr. Newport's sister had married a Herbert. Sir Edward Herbert, of Powis Castle, was plaintiff in a suit with Mr. Vaughan (who was possessor of Lwydiarth), at the preceding Spring Assizes: and this was quite enough with the irascible spirit of the Welshmen of that day to excite a feud between their respective partizans, though the relationship of the two Herberts were as distant as third cousins."

Before leaving the *Dream* with its Shropshire echoes, for a summary of the Shropshire words of the plays in general, it is both pleasant and contributory to our thesis, to find Georgina F. Jackson including in her monumental *Shropshire Word Book*,² the following definition:

BOTTOM—a ball of yarn as it was wound off the reel for the cottage-weaver, or for home use. In the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, the weaver, who is one of the *Dramatis Personae*, is called *Bottom*—a name borrowed, doubtless, from the *bottoms* of yarn employed in his handicraft.

And the place of origin—Pulverbatch, a parish 7½ miles S.S.W. of Shrewsbury. And there is, too, Professor Dover Wilson's reading of the words "thisne, thisne" uttered by Bottom (*Dream*, Act II, sc. ii), to be 'thissen' (in this manner; this way, that way) and dialect of the North and Midlands. Perhaps a Lancastrian echo.

Thanks to the painstaking work of my wife and my friend Mr. Geoffrey Brown, I have been able to place in chronological order a selection of typical Shropshire words used in the plays, and which, according to the *New English Dictionary* were *first intro-*

¹ *A History of Shrewsbury*, 1825, i, 390-398.

² *Shropshire Word Book*. A Glossary of Archaic and Provincial Words, etc., used in the county. London 1879 (Supplement).

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duced into literature by Shakespeare. These cover the period from 1591-1592 to 1612-1613. Asterisks denote words *also* found in South Lancashire dialect.

*ALE-SCORE	(2 <i>Henry VI</i>)	1591-1592
QUARTERS	(<i>Comedy of Errors</i>)	1592-1593
WITCHES STIRRUPS	(<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>)	1594-1595
*BRASS	(<i>Love's Labour Lost</i>)	1594-1595
ALONG OF	(<i>Midsummer Night's Dream</i>)	1595-1596
BOTTOM	(<i>Midsummer Night's Dream</i>)	
COLLY	(<i>Midsummer Night's Dream</i>)	
O'ER LOOKED	(<i>Merchant of Venice</i>)	1596-1597
BESMUDGE	(<i>Henry V</i>)	1598-1599
NOOK-SHOTTON	(<i>Henry V</i>)	
*HAGGLE	(<i>Henry V</i>)	
NAY-WORD	(<i>Twelfth-Night</i>)	1599-1600
BUCK-WESH (see <i>buck basket</i>)	(<i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i>)	1600-1601
DRUMBLE	(<i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i>)	
MOBLE	(<i>Hamlet</i>)	1600-1601
COUCH	(<i>All's Well</i>)	1602-1603
ARRIVANCE	(<i>Othello</i>)	1604-1605
TAKING	(<i>King Lear</i>)	1605-1606
FOSSET	(<i>Coriolanus</i>)	1606-1607
MAMMOCK (or) MOMMOCK	(<i>Coriolanus</i>)	
POTCH	(<i>Coriolanus</i>)	
*REECHY	(<i>Coriolanus</i>)	
*FORE-END	(<i>Cymbeline</i>)	1609-1610
PECK	(<i>Henry VIII</i>)	1612-1613

In addition to the above there are over a hundred other Salopian words used in the plays, but these, in company with a Lancashire list now in preparation by Mr. Geoffrey Brown, must await publication in a larger volume.

Some relevant odds and ends occur to my mind before the closing of this article. Our assumption that Shakespeare spent some years in Shropshire is strengthened, for example, by the fact that in 1886 the purchaser's and vendor's exemplifications relative to New Place, Stratford-on-Avon, of 1597 (the year Shakespeare acquired the 'pretty house of brick and timber') were found among the papers of the Severne family of Wallop, Shropshire.¹ New evidence in support of the apocryphal epitaphs on the Stanleys in Tong Church, Shropshire, may rest

¹ *Athenæum*, 13 Feb., 20 Mar. 1886; Halliwell-Phillipps, *Rarities*, p. 140.

upon the identification of Sir Edward Stanley as being the brother of Henry the 4th Earl of Derby, and one whose name occurs in the Farington Diary as a member of the Earl's household. The young "Shakeshafte" visiting Knowsley in 1587 with the Hesketh Players could have known Sir Edward. Space will not, I fear, allow expansion of the matter. Indeed there is so much more evidence to form new threads in the web and warp of this vast tapestry, that it must be some time before presentation of the final thesis takes place. In venturing to append a brief (and speculative) Chronological Table in illustration of this article, I cannot end without acknowledgement of the valuable assistance given me in my researches by my friends Mr. Norman Long-Brown, Mr. R. B. Halliday of Leicester and Mr. Geoffrey M. Brown. Also my grateful thanks are due to my wife, who has undertaken many laborious tasks.

SHAKESPEARE *alias* SHAKESHAFTE

- 1564 (Born c. April 23). Baptised 26th April.
- 1578 Father's money troubles begin. Sent as singing-boy to Household of ALEXANDER HOUGHTON, of Lea, Lancashire.
- 1581 (August) Hoghton makes his Will, leaving "Willm Shakeshafte" (among other servants) a year's wages, and commending him to Sir THOMAS HESKETH of Rufford Old Hall, Lancs.
- 1581 (September) Will of Hoghton proved. "Shakeshafte" returns to Stratford-on-Avon—perhaps by Christmas.
- 1582 Woos Anne Hathaway. Pre-nuptial association about July. Marriage, 28th November.
- 1583 A daughter, SUSANNAH, born 26th May.
- 1585 Twins, HAMNET and JUDITH, born 2nd February. *About this time (or even before the birth of the twins) "Shakeshafte" left Stratford-on-Avon. Carefree days of financial and marital ease with 'country contentments', may have seen the beginning of his poetical exercises—perhaps the first drafting of Venus and Adonis.*
- 1585 At RUFFORD OLD HALL.
- 1587-1588 At KNOWSLEY with the HESKETH PLAYERS. Meets JOHN SALISBURY of Llewenni and URSULA (STANLEY) his wife. Composes *The Phoenix and Turtle* in honour of their recent marriage.
- 1588 Death of Sir THOMAS HESKETH.
- 1588-1599 Joins STRANGE'S MEN.
- 1590-1591 Goes into Shropshire. *The player turns playwright . . . and the rest is history.*

THE CLEANSING OF THE TEMPLE ¹

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IN this paper I propose to discuss some problems concerning the course of events and the chronological framework of the ministry of Jesus as described in St. Mark's Gospel from chapter x. onwards. I have taken as my title 'The Cleansing of the Temple' because I think that the right dating of that event is the key to the chronology of the last period of the ministry. St. Mark ends his account of the Galilean ministry with chapter ix. ; and from that point onwards his narrative moves swiftly and relentlessly towards its inevitable climax of the Passion and Resurrection of the Lord. Because the story moves swiftly we are apt to imagine that the events described followed closely upon one another. As a result we compress the events of Mk. x. 46-xvi. 8 into a single week. On one Sunday morning Jesus, leaving Jericho for Jerusalem, heals blind Bartimaeus ; on the following Sunday morning the women find the empty tomb. I am going to suggest that Mark himself furnishes indications that the period covered by these events is not one week but something more like six months. To this six months we have probably to add another shorter period for the events covered by Mk. x. 1-45. The reasons for spreading the events of Mk. x.-xvi. over more than half a year are as follows :

(1) The statement in Mk. x. 1 :—

καὶ ἐκέθην ἀναστὰς ἔρχεται εἰς τὰ ὄρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, καὶ συνπορεύονται πάλιν ὄχλοι πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ὡς εἰώθει πάλιν ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς.

This passage is regarded by K. L. Schmidt (*Der Rahmen*, 238 f.) as *Sammelbericht*. It is certainly sufficiently self-contained and important to deserve a commentary to itself.

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on Wednesday, the 8th of November, 1950.

καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀναστὰς acts as a connecting link with the last place mentioned—Capernaum (ix. 33). Even if it is a bit of editorial guesswork, it is probably as near right as makes no matter; for if Jesus came to Southern Palestine, it is likely enough that he came from the North, i.e. from Galilee.

The important point, however, is the goal of the journey; and here we are met by a textual difficulty. 'He came into the territories of Judaea and Transjordan': this is the reading of the Alexandrian MSS. $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta^*\epsilon\psi$ and the Coptic versions. Another reading offered by a large number of Eastern ('Cæsarean') and Western witnesses, including DW θ fam. 1 fam. 13, 28, 565 the Latin, the early Syriac, and the Armenian and Georgian versions, says that 'he came into the territories of Judæa beyond Jordan'. Yet a third variation supported mainly by later authorities tells us that 'he came into the territories of Judaea *via* Transjordan'.

Wellhausen (*Das Evangelium Marci* (1903), *ad loc.*), followed by Ed. Meyer (*Ursprung u. Anfänge des Christentums*, i. 119 n. 1), defended the 'Western' reading and translated, 'the territory of Judaea on the far side of the Jordan'. But he did not produce any evidence for the view that Judaea extended to the east side of Jordan; and indeed the truth would seem to be that Judaea, strictly defined, did not include the Jordan valley, much less Peraea (see Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, p. 63). 'Judaea East of Jordan' reflects that state of affairs in the days of Ptolemy, the astronomer (c. A.D. 130-160). Cf. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii. 164. Under Herod the Great the territory of Judaea was divided into eleven administrative districts or toparchies. The two eastern districts of Acrabattene and Jericho did not go beyond Jordan (Abel, *Géogr.*, ii. 152 f.). On Herod's death this territory fell to his son Archelaus, on whose deposition (A.D. 6) it came under direct Roman rule. The territory on the east side of Jordan (Peraea) was part of the inheritance of Antipas (4 B.C.-A.D. 39). Peraea passed in 39, together with Galilee, to Herod Agrippa I, grandson of Herod the Great. Judaea was added by Claudius in 41 and so Agrippa had both Judaea and Peraea till his death in 44. Judaea was then put under procurators once more (Jos. *B.J.* ii. 220). Agrippa

II (son of Agrippa I) was given Chalcis in 48. In 53 this was exchanged for the tetrarchy of Philip (Trachonitis, Batanaea and Gaulanitis) plus the Kingdom of Lysanias and the old tetrarchy of Varus (*B.J.* ii. 247). To this Nero added four cities with their toparchies—Abila¹ and Julias in Peraea and Tarichaeae and Tiberias in Galilee (*B.J.* ii. 252). Josephus goes on to say (§ 252) that the Emperor appointed Felix to be procurator of the rest of Judaea. Agrippa II ruled his territory till A.D. 85. From 70 to 135 Palestine was the Roman province of Judaea under a *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Iudaeae et legionis X Fretensis*. After 135 the name Syria-Palestina tends to take the place of Judaea. The territory is the same: Herodian Galilee, Peraea (called by Ptolemy 'Judaea East of Jordan'), Samaria, Judaea (properly so-called) and Idumaea (Abel, *Géogr.* ii. 152 ff.).

The reading in Mk. x. 1, which says that Jesus came to Judaea *via* Transjordan, belongs to the stage in the tradition at which it has come to be thought that Peraea was no more than a bridge between Galilee and Jerusalem. The B^x text is intrinsically the best, and it should be taken seriously. *Mk. x. 1 does not describe a trip from Galilee to Jerusalem but a ministry in Judaea and Peraea.*

καὶ συνπορεύονται πάλιν ὄχλοι πρὸς αὐτόν. Turner (*J.T.S.* xxix. (1927) 4 f.) proposed to read *συνέρχεται πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος πρὸς αὐτόν*. The evidence is: *συνπορεύονται* all Uncials except DW^Θ, many minuscules. *συνπορεύεται* W fam. 1 (exc. 22, 872) fam. 13 (exc. 124) 28, etc.: *συνέρχεται* D^Θ 700: *συνέρχονται* 565. The Latin witnesses are divided between *conuenit* (*uenit a*) and *conueniunt*. The Syriac likewise, Sinaitic with singular verb, Peshitta with plural. Sahidic has the singular, Bohairic the plural. ὄχλοι (or ὄχλοι πολλοί) goes with the plural verbs. The subject of the singular verbs is ὄχλος, W fam. 13 (exc. 124) 28, 700, etc.: ὁ ὄχλος D^Θ 565, etc.: ὄχλος πόλυς fam. 1 and Geo. The Latin, Syriac, and Coptic versions are again divided. Turner's reasons for preferring the Western

¹ Abila is not mentioned in the parallel passage, *Ant.* xx. 159. It is apparently rejected by Abel (*Géogr.* ii. 159), who names only Julias Livias in Peraea and the two Galilean cities.

text here are that ὄχλος (sing.) and συνέρχεται are in accord with Marcan usage elsewhere, and that the plural ὄχλοι can be explained as an intrusion from the parallel passage in Mt. But on the other side it may be argued that the tendency would be for the common ὄχλος to displace ὄχλοι and for the familiar συνέρχεται to displace συνπορεύονται. Further, if συνέρχεται stood in the text of Mk. it is not easy to see whence συνπορεύονται came; and ὄχλοι in Mt. may just as well be testimony to the true text of Mk. as the source of its corruption. We should therefore prefer the B^x text here with Tischendorf and Hort. That being so, we need an explanation of the unusual (for Mk.) plural ὄχλοι. The answer is, I think, that the verse does not picture a single regular audience, but different groups collected at different points in Judaea and Peraea.

πάλιν . . . πάλιν. Does πάλιν in these cases mean 'again (as before)' or 'again (as elsewhere)'? Does it refer back to similar activity in Galilee or to a previous ministry in Judaea and Peraea? It may be that it is intended to mark the resumption of public teaching, which Jesus had discontinued for some time before he left Galilee (Mk. ix. 30). This is supported by the imperfect ἐδίδασκεν which may well signify that Jesus was again occupied with teaching. The point is that the passage does not say that Jesus passed through Peraea and Judaea teaching as he went; but that he came to Judaea and Peraea and began teaching again there.

(2) There is nothing inherently improbable in the idea of such a ministry as is suggested by Mk. x. 1. Peraea was part of the territory of Herod Antipas, and there are strong reasons for thinking that John the Baptist had had his headquarters in that district rather than in Judaea. If Jesus was for any length of time associated with John, it is at least possible that in coming to Peraea he was returning to familiar ground and known people. His reputation in Peraea is attested by Mk. iii. 8, though we are not told how it had been established, whether by first-hand knowledge or report.

(3) There are chronological considerations which seem to favour the hypothesis of a somewhat prolonged activity between

the departure from Galilee and the last Passover. To appreciate their bearing on the question, we must make a survey of the contents of Mk. at this point. A convenient starting place is Mk. x. 32-34, where we have explicit reference to a journey towards Jerusalem coupled (x. 33) with a prediction of the Passion of the Son of Man. This section is followed by the narrative of the intrigues of the sons of Zebedee and the dissension among the Twelve (x. 35-45). Next (x. 46-52) comes the story of the blind beggar Bartimaeus : the setting is Jericho, and the incident is said to have occurred as Jesus was leaving the town (x. 46), presumably by the Jerusalem road. This is followed by the description of the entry into Jerusalem (xi. 1-10), a visit to the Temple, and retirement to Bethany (xi. 11). Mark explains that it was already late when they got to the Temple, which is natural enough if they had come from Jericho. On the following day while Jesus and his disciples are coming in from Bethany to Jerusalem occurs the incident of the fig-tree (xi. 12-14) followed by the cleansing of the Temple (xi. 15-19) and on the next day by the conclusion of the story of the fig-tree (xi. 20-25 (26)). Lastly (xi. 27-33) there is the question about the authority of Jesus, a question which is most naturally understood as referring back to the cleansing of the Temple. This block, x. 46-xi. 33, seems to form a connected piece of narrative covering a period of three days. These days are commonly taken to be the Sunday, Monday and Tuesday of Passion week.

Mk. xii. 1-12, the Parable of the Vineyard, stands by itself. It has no necessary connexion with the preceding sections nor with what follows. It is introduced by the conventional phrase *καὶ ἤρξατο αὐτοῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖν*, but the Parable of the Vineyard has no successor in Mk.

In xii. 13-40 we have a collection of polemical passages concluding (38-40) with an attack by Jesus on the Scribes. The story of the widow's mite (xii. 41-44) is a bit of narrative wedged between two portions of discourse. Its setting is clearly Jerusalem, and its place in the order of Mark's story is probably determined by the catchword *χῆρα*.

Chapter xiii. belongs to Jerusalem. Verses 1-4 predict the destruction of the Temple : verses 5-37 are teaching of an

eschatological character. Mark appears to regard this passage as having been spoken as it stands by Jesus on the Mount of Olives ; but this is not necessary. Indeed, it is probable that the greater part of the discourse is a compilation of sayings of Jesus uttered at various times. The place of the compilation here corresponds with that of the eschatological section in Q. It marks the completion of the teaching ministry. In Q it is the end of the document ; in Mk. it is followed immediately by the Passion narrative.

The Passion narrative opens with a new note of time ; and it is an explicit reference to the Jewish calendar (xiv. 1). It is important to observe that this is a completely new start with the narrative. There is no chronological link whatever with the preceding sections in Mk., and it is pure conjecture that the events from the healing of Bartimaeus to the Crucifixion fall into the period from Sunday to Friday in one week.

Tentatively, then, we may set out the narrative portions of Mk. x.-xvi. as follows :

(a) x. 1-31. (Ministry in Judaea and Peraea.)

(b) x. 32-xi. 33. (Visit to Jerusalem and cleansing of the Temple.)

(c) xiv. 1-xvi. 8. (Passion narrative.)

Of these (c) is explicitly dated by reference to the Passover ; (a) and (b) are undated, unless we can infer the date from internal evidence. The most promising field for enquiry is offered by (b).

(i) In the narrative of the cleansing of the Temple reference is made to the ' tables of the money-changers ' (xi. 15) and it is suggested that the tables in question were those set up in the Temple between Adar 25 and Nisan 1 each year in connexion with the collection of the half-shekel tax.¹ If this point were good, it would fix the date of the cleansing a fortnight to three weeks before the Crucifixion. But, while the annual half-shekel had to be paid in Tyrian coinage, that tax was not in this respect unique. For all the Temple dues had to be paid in the

¹ B. H. Branscomb, *The Gospel of Mark* (Moffat Commentary, 203 ff.) ; Rabbinical texts concerning this tax and its collection in Billerbeck, i. 760-770.

same Tyrian coin. Consequently it may be assumed that some money-changers were always needed and that the only difference in the month of Adar was that many additional tables had to be set up in order to cope with the extra business caused by the falling due of the half-shekel tax.¹ Since there would probably always be some tables in the Temple precincts, this feature does not permit us to fix the date of the cleansing.

(ii) In a paper in the *Journal of Theological Studies*² Burkitt argued that the account of the Triumphal Entry (xi. 1-10) has features which suggest that the pilgrims are up for the Feast of Rededication of the Temple (Hanukkah) rather than for Pass-over. And clearly there could not be any season of the Jewish liturgical year when the cleansing of the Temple would be more appropriate. On the other hand, as Burkitt himself pointed out, the cutting of branches and the cries of Hosanna could point either to the Feast of Tabernacles or to that of the Rededication. And there are other considerations which seem to tell in favour of the former.

(iii) We have to reckon with the fact that in the Marcan account the cleansing of the Temple is embedded in the story of the fruitless fig-tree. The difficulties presented by the latter are notorious. Commonly they are regarded as insuperable. Whether they are or not, the fact remains that in the earliest stage of the tradition to which we have access, the cleansing of the Temple is inseparably attached to another story in which the main feature is a fig-tree covered with leaves but without any fruit. It becomes a matter of some interest to enquire when Palestinian fig-trees may be found in this condition. The yearly vicissitudes of the fig-tree may be drawn up from data supplied by Dalman in *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, Vol. I.

At the beginning of the year there are neither leaves nor fruit (I. 289 f.).

In April there are new leaves (I. 331, 378).

Early in May new figs begin to form, and by the end of the month they are fit to eat. In June early figs are on sale in Jerusalem (I. 332, 379).

¹ Cf. Schurer, *G.J.V.*⁴, ii. 309, 315 n. 52. On the money-changing business in general, Krauss, *Talm. Arch.*, ii. 411-414.

² xvii. (1916), 139-150.

From August to October the main crop of fruit is gathered (I. 561).

During this period the leaves begin to droop and change colour (I. 57).

In October and November the leaves fall off, and by December the tree is leafless (I. 100, 255).¹

It follows immediately from this time-table that if the cleansing of the Temple is really connected with the fig-tree incident, the one time that is absolutely impossible is the time of the Feast of the Rededication in December.

It is very little better if we take the traditional date for the cleansing—about a week before Passover. It is just possible that, given the unlikely combination of a very late Passover (in the third week of April) and very favourable weather conditions, a fig-tree on the Mount of Olives between Bethany and Jerusalem might be expected to have both leaves and immature fruit (תְּאֵנָה, ὄλυνθος, Cant. ii. 13; Rev. vi. 13; Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 391); but even so it is very doubtful whether the fruit would be worth eating and whether anyone would go to seek for it. And there is no evidence either that Passover was exceptionally late or that the weather was exceptionally good. In any case, whoever wrote the last clause of v. 13 knew that there was no sense in seeking for edible figs in the week before Passover. But it is that clause, and that clause alone, that fixes the incident at a time which makes nonsense of the whole story.² Let the clause be removed and we are free to place it at a time of the year when fig-trees have leaves and may be expected to have edible fruit, that is, during the period May to October.

Now the Feast of the Tabernacles falls in this period; and, as

¹ See also Crowfoot and Baldensperger, *From Cedar to Hyssop*, p. 8. 'In March the leaves of the fig-trees come out like the ears of a mouse' (local saying, from Artas near Bethlehem. Artas is the traditional site of the gardens of Solomon). Main crop Aug.-Sept., p. 10. 'In October the grapes and figs are getting over', p. 11.

² And it is clear that when the clause was inserted the fig-tree incident was already firmly embedded in the complex of stories that begins with the Entry and ends with the Crucifixion. It was the conclusion that the story must belong to the Passover season and that the Passover season was the wrong one for the story that led to the comment.

we have seen, the peculiar features in the story of the Triumphal Entry are as easily explained by reference to Tabernacles as by reference to Hanukkah.¹ If, then, the Entry and the fig-tree incident both took place at the time of the Tabernacles, two sets of conditions are satisfied. We are, of course, still left with difficulties inherent in the tale of the fig-tree; but they are fewer than if the story is placed at Passover time, and those that remain will remain no matter what may be the time to which we assign the incident. The real difficulty is that the cursing of the fig-tree—for so Peter understands it according to Mark—is not in keeping with what we otherwise know of the character of Jesus. For any real parallel to it we have to go to the Apocryphal Gospels. It is a tale of miraculous power wasted in the service of ill-temper (for the supernatural energy employed to blast the unfortunate tree might have been more usefully expended in forcing a crop of figs out of season); and as it stands it is simply incredible.

On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that the story was fashioned out of nothing at all and then built round the account of the cleansing of the Temple. It is possible that this is a case in which we are justified in rationalising the story. If so, I should hazard these suggestions.

(a) The incident took place at a time when the leaves of the fig-tree were beginning to droop and change colour, but when one might still expect to find a few figs left over from the main crop.

¹ It may be suggested that the passage (prob. Q) Lk. xiii. 31-35, is relevant here. According to its present place in Luke, and its own meaning, it points to the termination of the Galilean activity of Jesus, who ends by saying that his present (i.e. Galilean) audience will not see him again until the time comes when they say 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord' (Ps. cxviii. 26). This is as if one should say to-day, 'Next time we meet we shall be singing "O come all ye faithful"', which most of us would interpret as 'Next meeting, next Christmas'. Now, while Ps. cxviii is part of the Hallel, and therefore part of the ritual of the three great pilgrim feasts, Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles (Elbogen, *Jüd. Gottesdienst*,² 136 ff.), it is most intimately associated with Tabernacles. (Kittel, *Die Psalmen*, 371-376; Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*, 74 ff.; Billerbeck, *Komm.* i. 845, ii. 784-799; Büchler, *ZAW* (1900), 121 ff.) There need not be any reference to the Parousia or, for that matter, to the 'Triumphal Entry'. All that is necessarily implied is a definition of the time of next meeting (and the continuation then of the prophetic ministry, of which they already have experience).

Jesus went to the tree in the hope that this would be so. Actually there were none: either there never had been any or they had all been taken already.

(b) Jesus said something in Aramaic which could mean:

“Let no one ever eat fruit from thee again” or

“No one shall ever eat fruit from thee again”, or

“One will never eat fruit from thee again”.¹

In the first case we have the ‘cursing’ of the fig-tree as it is understood by Peter and Mark: in the second the natural interpretation of the saying would be that Jesus expected ‘the Day’ (or the destruction of Jerusalem) to come before another fig-harvest fell due: in the third case we should take it to mean that Jesus knew that he would be put to death before the fig-tree should again bear figs. It is at least possible that Jesus meant the second or third of these: and that—not for the first time—he was misunderstood.

(c) The ‘withering’ of the tree remains. If the incident is dated in autumn, it is possible that some combination of circumstances hastened the shedding of the leaves, so that by the next day the tree was bare. It is clear that it stood at some distance from the road (ἀπὸ μακρόθεν, Mk. xi. 13); but there is nothing to say that on the second day the disciples went over to study more closely what had happened. If they supposed that Jesus had cursed the tree on the previous day, they may well have imagined, on seeing it leafless, that the curse had taken effect.

I should accordingly outline the course of events thus. Gathering of the five thousand men in the spring of the year, followed by Jesus’ withdrawal to the districts of Tyre and Sidon and later to the Decapolis. Next comes a second movement to the north *via* Bethsaida, in the territory of Herod Philip,

¹ These possibilities arise as soon as one puts the Greek of Mark back into Aramaic. They are inevitable partly because there is no distinction of form between the simple imperfect and the jussive in Aramaic. (See the discussion by B. Violet in the Gunkel *Festschrift*, ii. 135-140. Cf. Mk. vii. 10: τελευτάτω M.T. and Tg.) against τελευτήσῃ (LXX).

See further W. L. Knox, *Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity*, 19 and 19 n. 4. If Knox’s view of the nature of Luke’s parable is right (as it may well be), it makes it practically certain that Mark’s fig-tree incident and Luke’s fig-tree parable have nothing to do with one another.

towards Caesarea Philippi. This is followed by a secret journey through Galilee ending at Capernaum. The total impression is one of continual movement in and out of Galilee to north and east. Finally comes a movement to the south (Mk. x. 1). What route was followed? Usually it is thought that it was a detour through Peraea. This must now be seriously questioned; more probably the journey was through Samaria into Judaea.¹ A ministry in Judaea and Peraea (in that order, *which is Mk.'s* (x. 1 and the whole story)) follows. This means that Jesus at some point crossed over the Jordan into Peraean territory. The Peraean ministry ended for the time being when Jesus went up to Jerusalem (*via Jericho*) for the Feast of Tabernacles. On this occasion the cleansing of the Temple took place. We are then left with a period of some six months (Oct.-April) between the cleansing of the Temple (Mk. xi. 11-25) and the opening of the Passion narrative proper (Mk. xiv. 1). If this is correct, we can explain one feature in the Passion story that has always been baffling, the sudden *volte-face* whereby within a week the enthusiastic crowd shouting Hosannas at the Triumphal Entry is transformed into a howling mob demanding the release of Barabbas and the crucifixion of Jesus. If we are really dealing with two different feasts separated by six months, the change of attitude can be the more readily explained as due to a growing sense of disappointment and disillusionment caused by the failure of Jesus to lead a great national uprising.

I conclude by indicating briefly a few points of coincidence between this picture of the course of events and that offered in the Fourth Gospel. The first, and in some ways the most striking, is the fact that in John (vii. 10-13) Jesus leaves Galilee for the last time and goes up to Jerusalem at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles. While he is there we have incidents recorded in John which bear a certain resemblance to stories

¹ Lk. ix. 51-53 suggests that Jesus went south through Samaria. This comports with Mk.'s order 'Judaea and Peraea' in x. 1. We may well think that the supposed detour through Peraea never took place. (Cf. Goguel, *Vie de Jésus*, 377.) Lk. xiii. 31 f. is relevant in this connexion. If Herod was seeking to arrest Jesus in Galilee, it would not do to flee to Peraea. To go from Galilee to Peraea would be to jump out of the frying-pan into the fire. See Goguel 380-383, for traditions about the *ἀνάβασις* to Jerusalem.

told by Mark in connexion with the cleansing of the Temple. For example, we have a challenge to the authority of Jesus (Jn. vii. 14-18) which recalls the challenge in Mk. xi. 27-33. Or again, we may compare Jn. vii. 37-44 with Mk. xii. 35-37, and the setting of Jn. viii. 12-20 with that of Mk. xii. 41-44.

According to the Johannine account, Jesus appears to be in or about Jerusalem from Tabernacles until the Feast of the Rededication. After that, how long after is not stated, he withdraws to Peraea. During the period between Hanukkah and Passover the Sanhedrin decided that Jesus must die (Jn. xi. 47-53. Cf. Mk. xiv. 1 f.). The decision was a political one, and the reasons for it were political. Jesus remained in hiding till near the Passover (Jn. xi. 54-57).

We now have a number of serious disagreements in order between Mark and John. They both bring the anointing at Bethany into close relation to the Passover, though they do not agree about the exact date, John having it several days earlier than Mark. In John (xii. 12-19) the Triumphal Entry is subsequent to the anointing: in Mark it comes before, and if our dating is right, six months before. But this clash is not the only one: we have also the fact that in John the cleansing of the Temple, which Mark puts at the beginning of the final period in Judea, is thrown back to the beginning of the ministry. These, however, are problems which call for separate treatment on another occasion.

BATAK BARK BOOKS

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CONSERVATOR, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, LEIDEN

THE use of books consisting of a long strip of writing material, folded up like a harmonica and written in lines parallel to the folds, is not uncommon in Eastern Asia, but the use of prepared tree-bark for this purpose is, as far as I know, restricted to the Indonesian island of Sumatra. There it survives to the present day among the Batak people in the northern part of the island; in the South also books of tree-bark are still to be found, though probably no longer made nowadays. Such books from southern Sumatra are rare in ethnographical collections, but Batak bark books are to be seen in nearly every ethnographical museum and in many libraries possessing oriental manuscripts.

A table of the Batak alphabet (of Indian origin) was published by William Marsden in his *History of Sumatra* as early as 1783. Nevertheless, scholars asked by curio-hunters for an explanation of their exotic treasures during the first decennia of the nineteenth century still made all kinds of fantastic guesses, comparing the letters with hieroglyphs, mixtures of Greek and Arabic astronomical symbols, Phœnician alphabets, etc. It was only after Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk had made a thorough study of the Batak language and published an anthology printed in the Batak character, a dictionary and a grammar (1860-1867) that the meaning of the books became generally known. In 1925 Dr. Joh. Winkler, a German missionary doctor working in the Batak country, gave a nearly complete survey of the literature contained in the bark books as a part of his work on Batak folk-medicine (*Die Toba-Batak auf Sumatra in gesunden und kranken Tagen*).

The Batak people numbered about 1,200,000 when the last census was held in 1930. Their social organisation, based on

genealogical principles, is the same everywhere. Every individual belongs to a patrilinear exogamic group (*marga*), and this fact for the most part determines his rights and obligations. But in other respects there are great local differences, and the language is split up into a number of dialects, which may be roughly divided into a northern (Karo and Dairi) and a southern group (Toba, Angkola and Mandailing), whilst Simalungun holds an intermediate position. Batak is an Indonesian language, but especially in the books a number of Indian loanwords are found. One of these is the word *pustaka* (southern dialects; northern, like Sanskrit, *pustaka*). This is the most usual name for the books written on tree-bark.

In South-Sumatran bark books several kinds of literature are represented: codes of law, legends and magical texts. Batak literature as found in the *pustahas* is much more monotonous. All the texts deal with magic and divination. In the few cases where legends are found written down in a *pustaka* there is nearly always a European investigator in the background. Unquestionable instances of the contrary are extremely scarce. The *pustaka* is, as Dr. Winkler remarks, the note-book of a Batak medicine-man, dictated to his pupils or copied by them as a supplement to oral instruction. This explains the abrupt and fragmentary character of many texts, the large part taken by lists and tables and by magical drawings. Dr. Winkler has studied a number of *pustahas* with the help of a competent medicine-man (*datu*), and in this way has succeeded in giving a much more vivid and coherent picture of ceremonies, practices and methods than the study of the manuscripts alone can ever yield.

The only really adequate commentator of a *pustaka* is the *datu* who wrote it himself. Even in the Batak country it is now seldom possible to get this kind of help, as large sections of the Batak people have embraced Islam or Christianity, and the old sciences of magic and divination are much in decline, even among those who still cling to the religion of their ancestors. But by a careful comparison of different copies, much that is obscure in the older texts may be elucidated; many details and some main points may be added to Dr. Winkler's survey;

small but sometimes interesting linguistic data may be gathered. This would, however, involve a lot of very tedious work : transcribing of texts, indexing of doubtful and obscure words, etc. A start in this direction was made by C. M. Pleyte. He published lists of some of Van der Tuuk's Batak manuscripts in Amsterdam (1894), and of the Batavia collection (1909). Unpublished notes in his handwriting were found in many of Van der Tuuk's manuscripts in Leiden, and he also made an unpublished catalogue of the Batak MSS. of the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, now in the John Rylands Library. All these lists are superficial and inaccurate. But it was also at his initiative that full romanised transcriptions, accompanied by copies of the illustrations, were made of the pustahas in Batavia. This was done with much patience by a Christian Batak teacher, Pandita Simon. I have not collated them, but they seemed to me fairly accurate when I used them in Holland in 1926.

Another line of approach would be to compare Batak magical and divinatory literature with its sources. The use of Sanskrit words leaves no doubt that these must be looked for in India. But Van der Tuuk has remarked that some of these words show by their form that they have not passed immediately from Sanskrit into Batak, but through the intermediary of some other Indonesian language. So comparison with similar literature found elsewhere in Indonesia might also prove useful. To give an example : the Batak word *raḁsa* meaning "property", "peculiarity", "attribute", baffled me until I found Malay *lakṣana* (Skr. *lakṣaṇa*) used in the same way as the Batak word. The last syllable has been dropped in Batak, because *-na* is there the possessive suffix of the 3rd pers. sing. But here two difficulties arise. In the first place, many subjects treated in the pustahas have no parallels in other Indonesian languages. Secondly, no sufficiently detailed descriptions of the magical literature in Bugis, Makasar, Javanese, etc., exist ; even Skeat's "Malay Magic" is not detailed enough for this purpose. The magical and divinatory literature of India is also not easily accessible. The Indian origin of some parts of Batak lore has been proved in a general way, but a detailed comparison cannot be given in the present state of our knowledge.

I shall now give a short summary of Dr. Winkler's survey of the art and science of the *datu*, the Batak medicine-man. Dr. Winkler has divided the subject into three parts: the art of preserving life, the art of destroying life, and divination. Under the first heading he treats of diagnosis, domestic remedies, magic medicine, amulets, charms and other protective devices, and the cult of the human soul, of the ancestors, of gods and spirits. The second part comprises what is usually called black magic. Divination is subdivided into: oracles to find out the wishes of the soul; oracles for detecting the decrees of the gods and ancestors; and astrological oracles.

Diagnosis (I. 1) implies several forms of divination, as illness is often ascribed to unfulfilled wishes of the human soul (*tondi*), the gods or the spirits. In *pustahas* treating of divination one finds formulæ like: if this omen occurs, such and such a spirit is causing illness. As a source for the knowledge of folk medicine (I. 2) the bark books are disappointing; recipes for domestic remedies against all kinds of ailments, so frequent in Malay manuscripts, are seldom found in them. Dr. Winkler's exposition of this subject is not based on written sources but on oral information and personal observation of practice. Magic medicine (I. 3), however, is fully treated in some *pustahas*; it consists chiefly of antidotes against poison and hostile magic. Protective magic (I. 4), generally denoted by the word *pagar* (which in Malay means "fence"), fills a considerable part of the *datu's* books; often a whole book treats of one kind of *pagar*. Every *pagar* has its own specific name, and the method of preparation and the incantations used are mostly given in some detail. Acts of cult (I. 5) are often prescribed in the *pustahas* to ward off some evil, but the exact way in which they are performed cannot be learned from this literature. An exception is the *porsili*, the giving of an image to the spirits as a substitute for the patient; the preparation of this kind of magic is sometimes described rather elaborately.

As a subdivision of the art of destroying life, Dr. Winkler mentions in the first place (II. 1) the preparation of poisons. Recipes of this kind are still scarcer in the *pustahas* than those for remedies. One of the most important subjects treated

amply is *pangulubalang* (II. 2). This word is derived from *ulubalang*, a champion in war, and means a spirit made subservient to the magician and acting as his champion against his enemies. Most of the illustrations found in the pustahas are magical drawings serving as seats for a special manifestation of such an aggressive spirit. These manifestations are called *debatá*, from Skr. *devatā*, deity, and the proper names of some of these manifestations also show an Indian origin. In the third place Dr. Winkler treats of *dorma* (II. 3), which is the Skr. *dharma*, but in Batak generally means "alluring magic", e.g. a love-philtre. Some forms of it may be used to allure the enemy's soul to its destruction. Lastly, under this heading come all kinds of magical devices for leading the enemy into perdition which are summed up under the name of *adji* (II. 4).

The third chapter of the datu's science, divination, is the most promising subject for comparative studies. Winkler enumerates many oracles to find out the wishes of the patient's soul (*tondi*) (II. 1). Among these we find such widespread practices as chiromancy and fortune-telling from names and from the egg. This last subject is sometimes treated in pustahas. To this same group belongs sooth-saying from involuntary motions of the muscles (*gorak-gorahan*). But much more room is taken in Batak magical books by some of the oracles mentioned by Winkler under the next heading: oracles for detecting the decrees of the gods and ancestral spirits (III. 2). Long tables of cases occurring in divination by the double string (*rambu siporhas*) and the hanging cock (*manuk gantung*) fill many pages in the bark books, easily recognisable by the drawings representing the different positions of the strings and the critical points in the inside of the chicken which has been cut open. Shamanistic practices belong to this group, and also ordeals and war, which, according to Batak ideas, is a kind of ordeal.

Most clearly of Indian origin are the oracles which form Winkler's last group. It comprises all kinds of astrological fortune-telling (III. 3). In the first place there is the dragon in the sky, which changes its position every three months. In Malay it is called *naga* (Skr. *nāga*), in Batak *pane na bolon*, the great *pane* (probably also a Skr. word). Then Winkler mentions

in this connexion two oracles that take a large place in the *pustahas*: *panampuhi*, soothsaying with slices of lemon, and *manuk di ampong*, for which a fowl is killed and put under a basket until it does not move any more. These belong to the astrological oracles because the position of the slices of lemon or the fowl with relation to the points of the compass (called by their Sanskrit names) determines the omen. According to Winkler's ingenious explanation of the *manuk di ampong*, the apparatus used for this method of divination represents the cosmos, and one of the gods of heaven, Batara Guru, descends into the fowl and so gives his decision. In a Mandailing *pustaha* containing invocations of spirits (*lobajak*) I found a curious passage in which the fairy of incense is asked to ascend to heaven and to bring down a daughter of the gods (*boru ni dibata*), apparently to give oracles through a cock.

A special study was made by Dr. Winkler of the Batak calendar (*porhalaan*). It was first published in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Jahrg. 45 (1913), and afterwards incorporated in his book, *Die Toba-Batak*. Independently of C. Snouck Hurgronje, who in 1893 had given a clear exposition of the similar system followed in Aceh, Dr. Winkler found that the Batak seasons are regulated by the conjunctions of the Scorpion with the moon and that the *porhalaan* (from *hala*, Skr. *kāla*, "scorpion") is a schematic representation of these conjunctions. It consists of a rectangle divided into 12 or 13 \times 30 squares for the days of the months, with the figures of the scorpion in the appropriate places. The thirteenth month is mostly only used as a safety margin; when the *datu* is uncertain about the number of the month, he chooses a day that is lucky in the next month as well. Originally it certainly represented the intercalary month which must be added after some years to make up for the difference between the solar and the lunar year. The necessity of such a correction is determined by the Batak, as well as by the Acheneese, in a purely empirical manner by observation of the stars. Some time ago Dr. Winkler sent me an addition to his book from which it appears that this whole ingenious system of combining the solar and lunar reckonings is of Hindu origin. He found it mentioned in the seventeenth century work *Afgoderye*

der Oost-Indische Heydenen by Philippus Baldaeus (new ed. by A. J. de Jong, 1917, pp. 46 and 196).

Other astrological tables found in the pustahas are the *pormesa*, the twelve signs of the zodiac, that have retained their Sanskrit names; the eight *panggorda*, animals arranged according to the points of the compass, also of Indian origin (see *Indian Antiquary*, V, p. 296); and the five *pormamis*, the Malay *kětika lima*. These have still the Skr. names of gods in Malay. In Batak the names are *mamis*, *bisnu*, *sori*, *hala* and *borma*, with *mamis* for the Malay *mahéswara*. The Malay word *səri* in the sense of "drawn (of a game)" is taken from this series, as *Səri* occupies the middle position among the five.

After Pleyte's lists of Batak manuscripts, already mentioned above, two more collections have been catalogued: that in the Ethnographical Museum at Leiden by H. W. Fischer (in *Catalogus*, Vol. VIII, pp. 129 *sqq.*, 1914), and that of the Indisch Instituut at Amsterdam by the author of this paper (in *Aanwinsten v.d. Afdeeling Volkenkunde*, 1933). Fischer's catalogue is much fuller than Pleyte's lists, but it also teems with errors in the transcription of Batak passages. My own notes about the manuscripts at Amsterdam were not originally meant as a catalogue; for the most part they only give the titles and no detailed survey of the contents of the books. But, as they were carefully revised by Dr. Winkler, they contain almost no errors in transcription, and some words not found in the dictionaries could be explained by his help. As neither Dr. Winkler nor I knew the Simalungun dialect then, some titles of Simalungun books have been mistranscribed, e.g. by spelling *-eh* for the Simalungun diphthong *-ou*!

The place of origin of a pustaha is not always easy to ascertain. In the old times of intertribal warfare the *datus* were the only class of people who could move about more or less freely, owing to their dreaded magical powers. As young men they often sought wisdom in far-off parts of the country. In transcribing the pustahas of their masters they only slightly adapted the language to their own dialect. The standard dialect of Batak magical literature may be said to be what Van der Tuuk calls sub-Toba, with an admixture of words and forms peculiar to

the jargon of the datu. Passages conforming to this standard may be found in any pustaha, whatever its place of origin. Therefore, as a source of linguistic information, the pustahas should be handled very carefully. Sometimes the place of origin is indicated in the introduction, where one finds passages such as: "this is an instruction from N.N." (a famous datu in a remote past); "then it came to you, N.N. in the land X", and so on, until the scribe of the copy in hand is reached.

Palæographical evidence is also a weak base for determining the place of origin or the date of a pustaha. I once thought that a special form of the letter "n" was only found in old pustahas from Mandailing, but afterwards I found the same form in a book from Siantar in Simalungun and in another copy which has peculiarities pointing to a Dairi origin and is probably not very old. Generally the only *terminus ante quem* in the dating of a pustaha is the date of its acquisition by a museum or a private collection. By this criterion the oldest specimen should be British Museum Add. 4726, presented by Alexander Hall, Esq., 18th May, 1764. It is in the ordinary Toba script. Next would come the pustaha of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences, which was bought in an auction in Holland, 3rd October, 1781. This MS. has the old form of the "n", but those that come next in chronological order, William Marsden's pustahas in the School of Oriental and African Studies, as well as the specimen in the British Museum just mentioned, could have been written a hundred years later.

The largest and most complete collection is that of Van der Tuuk, now partly in Amsterdam (Indisch Instituut), partly in the University Library, Leiden. It was collected during the years 1852-1857 in Barus on the western coast of Sumatra, and shows a great variety of subject-matter, but little dialectical and palæographical diversity. In compiling his dictionary Van der Tuuk did not exhaust the lexicographical data found in his pustahas. Nevertheless with the help of his publications and some pieces on the science of the datu found in the twenty-five volumes of Batak texts collected by him, his manuscripts are more easily accessible than those written in other dialects. Joustra, Warneck and Eggink took little notice of pustaha-

literature in composing their dictionaries of Karo-, Toba- and Angkola-Batak. Some valuable information about this subject was gathered among the Batak of Eastern Sumatra by H. H. Bartlett; besides his publications (*The labors of the Datoe; Sacred edifices of the Batak*) little has been written in English about this subject.

The John Rylands Library has a collection of 26 Batak manuscripts; 14 are written on tree-bark, 9 on bamboo and 3 on paper. There are some notes about ten of these MSS. by G. K. Niemann, dated 1878, and the complete catalogue, mentioned above, by C. M. Pleyte, made at a somewhat later date, but before 1898. In that year some of the MSS. were shown in an exhibition and the printed catalogue published for the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* on that occasion obviously uses Pleyte's description. In 1901 the oriental manuscripts of the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* were acquired for the John Rylands Library. The numbers 1, 5, 8, 9, 10, and perhaps some others, were bought by the Earl of Crawford in the auction of Professor H. C. Millies' books at Utrecht in 1870. Four of the manuscripts about which Niemann made notes are from the "Bragge collection", and according to Niemann were "apparently very old" when he saw them. One of these is now no. 6.

The following list has been drawn up from Niemann's and Pleyte's notes. As the regulations of the John Rylands Library do not permit the loan of manuscripts outside the library, I have not seen the MSS. themselves, but I have had a microfilm reproduction of some pages from no. 12. Pleyte's numbers are used in the list.

No. 1. (This, or no. 7, must be no. 1284 of Millies' catalogue. Professor Millies got it in 1859 from Mr. A. P. Godon, who had been assistant-resident of Mandailing and Angkola.) Tree-bark, 69 leaves, 270 × 170 mm. Badly written, full of mistakes and errors. The main subject seems to be a *pagar* (I. 4) called *Balik Kunda na bolon*, "the great Balik Kunda". Parts are devoted to *dorma* (II. 3), *pangulubalang* (II. 2) and *daon* (medicine, I. 2).

No. 2. Tree-bark, 54 leaves, 160 × 110 mm. Well written; large distinct characters. Subject: *pagar* (I. 4), called *Sipiuan*

na bolon, "the great Sipiuan" (a kind of kite). In connexion with this pagar, tables of the *pormesa*, *panggorda* and *pormamis* (III. 3) are given. There is also a piece about *parombunan*, the reading of omens from the form of clouds in the sky. A peculiarity of the pagar sipiuan is that its formulæ should be written on a long bamboo (30 internodes). In an illustration in a pustaha written for Van der Tuuk, this bamboo is pictured in an upright position (see plate 4). A passage from the incantation of this pagar has been published by Pleyte (*Bijdr. Taal-, Land- en Volkenk.* 1903).

No. 3. Tree-bark, 38 leaves, 180 × 140 mm. Badly written. This pustaha also is about *pagar* (I. 4). According to Pleyte the title is *Poda ni pagar Adji Debata na bolon*, "Instruction about the pagar called Adji Debata the great", but from his description it seems likely that the main subject is the pagar called *Si Adji Sang Baima*. Some particulars about a similar pustaha in the Djakarta collection are given in my *Overzicht van de Volksverhalen der Batak*s, page 128. This pagar owes its name (though probably little more) to Bhīma, one of the heroes of the Mahābhārata.

No. 4. Tree-bark, 45 leaves, 125 × 80 mm. Wooden, sculptured cover. Well written except at the end. *Pagar* (I. 4) again, this time called *Dua Radja Handang Bosi*, "Two Kings Iron-Fence". The last part treats of *pangulubalang* (II. 2).

No. 5. (Millies' catalogue, no. 1282. Received from Mr. C. v. S. Matthiessen in Padang.) Tree-bark, 34 leaves, 210 × 160 mm. Wooden cover. Legible throughout. Contains two instructions: (a) concerning *Pagar si unte rudang* (I. 4), a kind of pagar of which *unte* (lemon) is the chief component; (b) concerning *pamuhu* (or *pamunu*) *tanduk*, a kind of magical preparation kept in a buffalo's horn. This belongs to aggressive magic (Winkler's second group).

No. 6. Tree-bark, 63 leaves, 175 × 120 mm. Very fine handwriting and good drawings. First and last pages damaged. The main subject seems to be a *pagar* (I. 4) called *Panunsang Harahar na bolon*.

No. 7. Tree-bark, 67 leaves, 240 × 125 mm. Wooden cover. Badly written. The same text as no. 1; one of these

books must be a copy of the other, or both are copied from the same original.

No. 8 (Millies' catalogue, no. 1274). Paper, 18 pages, 4°. A tale in the South Mandailing dialect, relating how the dragon Ompu Pungu made the charm *Bohom-bohom ni si Adji Guru Sang Baima* (cf. no. 3).

No. 9 (Millies' catalogue, no. 1275). Paper, 48 pages, 4°. A fragment of the legend about *Mangaradja Enda Panjabungan*. A complete text has been published by Van der Tuuk in his *Batakſch Leesboek*, II. 61-105; cf. my *Overzicht*, page 190, no. 234. Van der Tuuk's version is in the North Mandailing (Angkola) dialect, whereas this one is in the dialect of South Mandailing.

No. 10 (Millies' catalogue, no. 1276). Paper, 44 leaves, 4°. Written at Panjabungan (Mandailing) in 1857 by Patuan Soangkupon. The legend about the origin of the *marga* (genealogical group) Nasution, said to descend from Mangaradja Sokondar Mudo of Pagarryung (Minangkabau). South Mandailing dialect. The Leiden library possesses a shorter, unfinished version in the same dialect. Extracts have been published in Batak by Willem Iskander (*Siboeloes-boeloes*, 1872) and in Dutch by Willer (*Tijdschr. v. Neerl. Indië*, 1848, I. 405 *sqq.*).

No. 11. Tree-bark, 29 leaves, ca. 245 × 180 mm. Well written. *Poda ni pagar pangorom*, i.e. instruction about a *pagar* (I. 4) to make ineffective the charms used against us.

No. 12. Tree-bark, 50 leaves, 175 × 110 mm. Well written, but not free from errors. In the catalogue of the exhibition held in 1898, "ca. 1750" is given as the date of this manuscript. The principal reason for ascribing such a date to this pustaha seems to be Pleyte's observation that "its handwriting closely corresponds with a manuscript of the Leyden library which was brought back from Sumatra before A.D. 17—" (the last two numbers not filled up). Pleyte further remarks that the letters "n", "b", "m", "t" and "s" have an ancient form. The old manuscript meant by Pleyte can only be that of the Royal Academy mentioned above. In my opinion the resemblance is not very close (see plates 2 and 3); the only letter that really has an ancient form (i.e. a form nearer to that of the alphabets of old

Javanese and Malay inscriptions) is the "n", and, as remarked above, the use of this kind of "n" probably survived in some regions until recent times. Another reason why Pleyte considers the MS. as old is found in a note saying that "it belonged to Opput Sarimatua from Patsur-na-pitu in whose family it has been for ages". In my opinion this only proves that it cannot be much later than the beginning of the nineteenth century. Of course it *may* be much older, but this can be said of most pustahas. From Pleyte's notes and the pages I saw in reproduction I gather that on one side the chief subject is *pamunu tanduk* (see above, no. 5). Much room is also taken by lists of the twelve months, with the purposes for which they are auspicious or inauspicious, the offerings to be given to the spirits of the months if they are well disposed, the *porsili* (I. 5) to be given them to avert their evil influence. A *pagar* (I. 4) against ferocious ghosts is also mentioned. On the back are two chapters, the first entitled: *Poda ni songonta di sitangko bodan*, instruction about our *songo* or *songon* against thieves of *bodan*. Neither for *songo* or *songon* nor for *bodan* can I find a meaning that makes sense. The second chapter is about *dorma* (II. 3).

No. 13. Tree-bark, 14 leaves, 90 × 70 mm. Well written. *Poda ni pamusatan ni manuk gantung*, succinct instruction about divination by means of the hanging cock (III. 2).

No. 14. Tree-bark, 39 leaves, 140 × 140 mm. About a *pagar* (I. 4) called *Subutan Mula Djadi*.

No. 15. Bamboo, 770 mm. long. Small distinct writing. From Djandji Angkola. About divination by means of the *pormamis* (III. 3).

No. 16. Bamboo, 770 mm. long. Small distinct writing. From Djandji Angkola. About offerings to the spirits of the days of the calendar (*porhalaan*, III. 3).

No. 17. Bamboo, 630 mm. long. From Djandji Angkola. Calendar (*porhalaan*, III. 3).

No. 18. Bamboo, 700 mm. long. From Djandji Angkola. *Poda ni tua ni djuhut na djadi panganon dohot na so djadi panganon*, instruction about the parts of a buffalo which may be eaten and which may not be eaten (by the guest and by the host, according to the month of the year).

No. 19. Bamboo, 680 mm. long. Large clear writing. From Djandji Angkola. Contains two *mintora*, invocations to be recited in applying antidotes.

No. 20. Tree-bark, 48 leaves, ca. 490×150 mm. Well written but partly illegible by use. This is a pustaha of the same kind as the largest specimen in Van der Tuuk's collection (cf. plate 1) and several other copies, all distinguished by their large measurements. They contain rules for divination and magic in war. The contents of this MS. are:—

- (a) *Rambu siporhas*, divination by the twin string (III. 2).
- (b) *Pane na bolon*, divination from the position of the dragon in the sky (III. 3).
- (c) *Pangulubalang*, aggressive magic (II. 2).
- (d) *Poimesa*, the signs of the zodiac (III. 3).
- (e) *Poda ni porsili ni surat na sampulu sia*, about the nineteen letters of the alphabet used as charms.
- (f) *Panggorda* (III. 3).
- (g) *Pormamis* (III. 3).

No. 21. Tree-bark, 21 leaves, 230×170 mm. Very well written. Bought in Baringin, district Rambe, in the upper lands of Barus; said in the catalogue of 1898 to be the very first that came from this independent region. About *pamuhu tanduk* (see above no. 5).

No. 22. Tree-bark, 18 leaves, 160×85 mm. Much damaged. About divination by means of a chicken, probably the *manuk gantung* (III. 2). At the end we find some notes about how to shoot with a gun, illustrated by rough drawings. This kind of magic, called *pamodilon* (from *bodil*, gun) has not been treated in Dr. Winkler's book.

No. 23. Bamboo, ca. 280 mm. long. From "Djandji Mariah in the independent hinterland of Baros". Spelling manual, containing the alphabet, each consonant accompanied by all the different vowels.

No. 24. Bamboo, 1540 mm. long. Five internodes, of which four are engraved with instructions for *panampuhi*, divination by means of a lemon (III. 3).

No. 25. Bamboo, 1700 mm. long. Four internodes, all

engraved with an instruction about the consultation of *pane na bolon* (III. 3). From Djandji Mariah.

No. 26. Bamboo, 1070 mm. long. Three internodes. From Djandji Mariah. Contains a fragment of an invocation of the gods ; two of them are Mangala Bulan (one of the three heavenly gods) and Debata Hasi-hasi, a god " to whom the priest never brings offerings, to whom the female shaman never presents a gift ".

According to Pleyte's catalogue the texts of nos. 2, 12, 13, 20 and 22 are written in the Toba dialect ; of no. 6 in South Toba ; of no. 11 in sub-Toba ; of nos. 1, 4, 5, 7 in Mandailing ; and of nos. 3, 8, 9, 10 in South Mandailing. Some of these determinations seem rather uncertain. Apparently the collection contains no specimens in the Northern Batak dialects or in those of the East Coast, but various dialects from the Western Toba and Mandailing area are represented in it. As to contents, protective magic (*pagar*) is in the majority, whereas texts on *pangulubalang*, so numerous in other collections and usually containing the most elaborate illustrations, are scarce. Important methods of divination, such as *porbuhitan* (omens taken from the falling of the buffalo slaughtered at a sacrificial ceremony) and *manuk di ampang* (III. 3) are not treated at all, but several other diviniatory texts are found in the collection. I do not know a parallel of the legend found in no. 8. Otherwise, although the collection contains nothing that is unique, it supplies valuable materials for comparison for any scholar wishing to explore the devious byways of Batak magical thought of olden times.

APPENDIX

TRANSLITERATION OF BATAK TEXTS

Plate 1. From MS. Amsterdam, Indisch Instituut A 1389, catalogued in *Mededeelingen van de Afdeeling Volkenkunde*, no. 6 (1937), p. 52 sqq. It is the largest pustaha in Van der Tuuk's collection ; its wooden covers are in the shape of a four-legged animal. It has often been portrayed, e.g. in Van der Tuuk's dictionary, Plate XXI and in A. J. de Lorm en G. L. Tichelman, *Verdwijnend cultuurbezit : Beeldende kunst der Bataks* (1941), Plate XXXI. Another illustration from this book has been reproduced in J. C. Lamster, *Indië*, p. 97 (with



PLATE I.—Illustration from a bark book in Van der Tuuk's collection.

The subject of this part of the book is the *pangulubalang* (aggressive magic) called *Dua radja odjim na bolon*, "The two great jinnee rulers". The picture illustrates one of its many applications. The magician takes a toad and a lizard, feeds them on his magic medicine, makes them wear sashes of earth-worms and yokes them to a small plough (right side of the picture). Out of the rib of a palm-leaf he makes a whip with a hibiscus flower bound at its top by means of three-coloured thread (middle). Stark naked he goes (left side) to the battlefield and makes them plough seven furrows. Then he throws away his whip and goes home. This practice will cause storm and darkness that drive the approaching enemy back.

[To face page 296

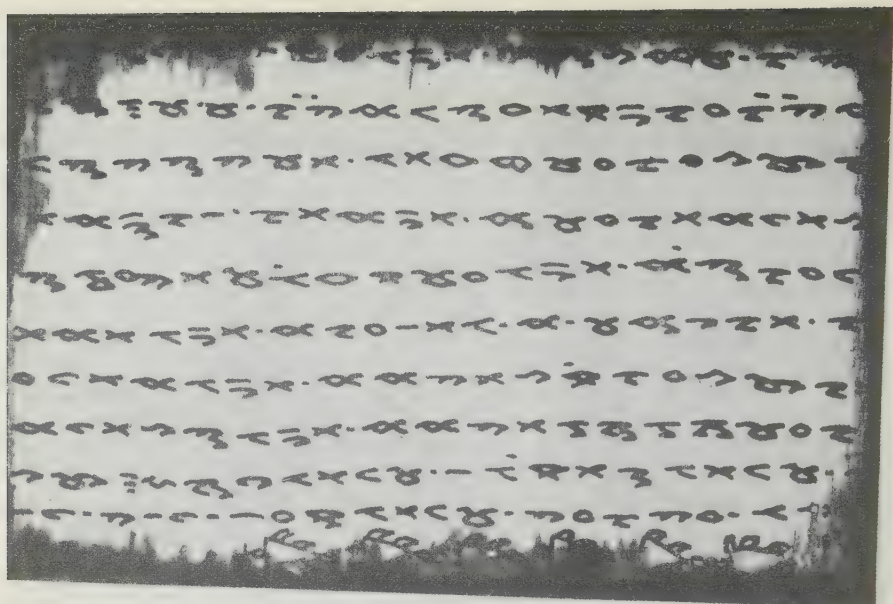


PLATE 2.—Specimen of writing from Rylands Batak MS. 12.

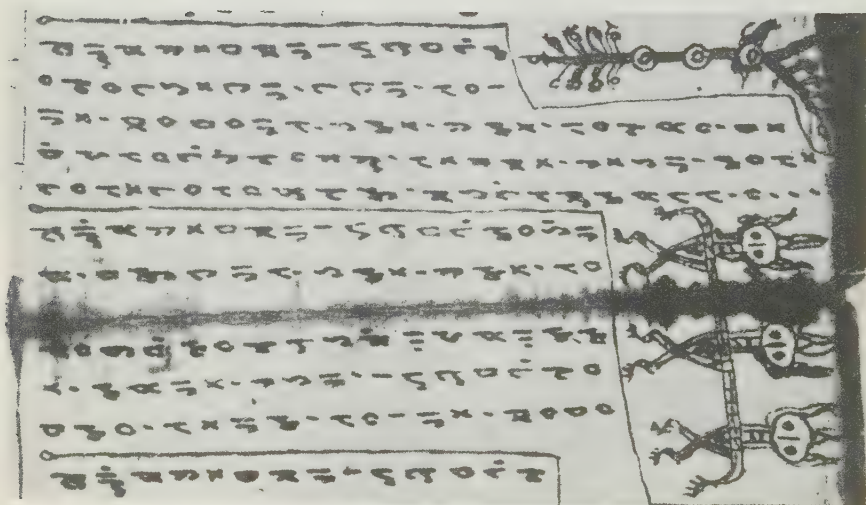


PLATE 3.—Specimen of writing from MS. Leiden, Royal Academy no. 247.



PLATE 4.—Illustration from MS. Leiden Cod. Or. 3465.

This picture represents the bamboo pole on which the formulae of the *pagar sipuan* (cf. Rylands Batak MS. 2) should be written. It must be slanting towards the East. The person standing next to the bamboo is the *datu*, uttering incantations. From the top of the bamboo a rectangular rack for offerings is suspended, apparently by means of a pulley-rope. This manuscript was specially written for Van der Tuuk.

Dutch translation of Batak text). The text belonging to the picture of the ploughing ceremony is :

(Ahu pangulubalang pangkaba-haba di bisara na godang asa dapahani ma djolo saringgupan sadangkibul dohot sosak sadangkibul di sibiangsa ni adjinta inon di hudon asa dahoba-hobai ma di goa (l. : goja) duwa be nasida asa dagana ma gaol siransar sadangkibul rupa djolma asa damare-)marei ma asa dadoding-d(oding ma laho tu tapian asa dapatibal ma nitak rondang napuran pinungpuk) dohot surat a(sa dabunga-bungai ma sosak dohot saringgupan asa dagunggun ma saringgupan dohot) sosak asa dadoding-doding ma ro di tapian (gaol asa muli ma hita tu ruma asa dapadudu ma sosak dohot saringgupan) di palangka na tarulang asa dataruhon ma tu por(parangan ija ro do di porparangan asa dating-galahon ma sosak dohot sa)ringgupan pitungkalebat ija batahinta li(li tunggal dabunga-bungai di punsu ni diihoti di bonang manalu ija hita da)tu sae lambak do hita ija hu do pitungkale (bat asa dadanggurhon ma batahinta inon asa muli ma hita ro ma haba-haba) sipulang di dalan sipulang galito ale amang da(tu).

It is not clear whether the human figure represents the datu (as supposed above) or an image made from a banana-stem that must be brought to the river before the ploughing ceremony.

Plate 2.

ku pangulubalang ni dormangku aman sangke ma
ngahu inan sangke mangahu botara si sangke ma
ngahu hahuhon do baba ni si anu s
o marusap so mormuni so malo a
hu n[i] hona debata ni dormangku si l
omo dorma si podjam na mugos s
i lom(o) dorma ma ho ate si anu so
malo ahu dorma ma ho pusu-pusu ni si
anu ija suwa dongan padang togu dongan ha
pal-hapal pitu dongan hisik dongan.

This is the last part of an incantation inciting the spirit of the *dorma* (see above) to close the adversary's mouth. At the end some plants to be used with the incantation are named.

Plate 3. Two complete incantations and the beginning of a third one. The first formula belongs to the illustration representing three puppets ; the other two illustrations do not appear in the reproduction.

Suru(ng) ma ho batara pangulubalang n
i si laowar-lawar di p
ortibi radjaonkon di simbo(ra)
beja di langge sihuk dohot goar ni do
li-doli di musunta ale datu na mangadji.
Surung ma ho batara pangulubalang ni era
m di banuwa radjaonkon di
[di] bulung ni sapu ame ija ma inon
na morg(o)ar pangulubalang si
bindoran di portibi.
Surung ma ho batara pangulubalang s
(i rungga bisa).

Translation of the first part : Up ! you, divine pangulubalang of the wanderer on the earth (?), (whose image, shown in the picture) should be drawn on lead or on (the leaf of a kind of arum called) *langge sihuk* together with the name of a young man among our enemies, O magician who studies (this text).

Plate 4.

do(m)pak habinsaran djombana
binahen ale datu na mordjaga-djaga o
i ma tahe gurunami i ma podana

i ma bulu
air-(a)
ir ale
songon
i ma djol
ma tindang
manabasi
di lambung
bulu inon

I.e. : to the East its slanting
be made O magician who reads (this).
Indeed, our master. Thus is the instruction.

This is the long bamboo, thus a man stands
reciting incantations over it next to the bamboo.

THE FIRST MANCHESTER SUNDAY SCHOOLS ¹

By A. P. WADSWORTH, M.A.

IN August, 1786, the magistrates for the Salford Hundred of Lancashire meeting at quarter sessions passed a long resolution deploring what would now be called a crime wave. They recited how "idle, disorderly and dangerous persons of all descriptions" were wandering about, and how the "commission of offences hath increased to an alarming degree". They called for more vigilance in the reporting of crime, more activity by the constables, more "privy searches", closer control of public houses and "houses of evil fame". They ended with this paragraph :

"That where Sunday Schools have been opened, their good effects have been plainly perceived in the orderly and decent Comportment of the Youth who are instructed therein. That it is therefore most earnestly to be wished that those virtuous Citizens who have begun this good work, would continue their efforts to forward it, with that Zeal and Perseverance that its great Importance requires ; and that if these Institutions should become established throughout the Kingdom, there is good reason to hope they will produce an happy change in the general Morals of the People, and thereby render the Severities of Justice less frequently necessary." ²

Why should the magistrates have linked Sunday schools with the repression of crime and the regulation of public houses ? The answer is that the Sunday schools, then in Lancashire just two years old, were a new social discovery. They seemed to the mind of the time to be a new revelation of how crime could be prevented. The magistrates were not thinking of Sunday schools as religious institutions, branches of church organisation, fields for devoted personal Christian service. They were thinking in practical terms of the schools as rescue agencies, as a means of reforming the lives and characters of the uneducated masses—the main source of crime and threats to property. This was the way all their contemporaries looked on them. The Sunday schools in Manchester, started in 1784,

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 13th December, 1950.

² *Manchester Mercury*, 8th August, 1786.

were fairly typical in being in their origins a town's effort, undenominational and managed by a committee on which both Church and Dissent sat. They were the product of a quite remarkable wave of Puritan reform in which the prudential motives were uppermost.

The promoters of the schools most often sought support on this ground that they were a form of social insurance. This was the easiest and the cheapest way to civilise the poor, to make them less dangerous to society, to render them more useful workers and, incidentally, to save their souls. As the Manchester Committee put it, "They call in a sense of religious obligation to the aid of industry". Yet it was out of this movement that there came one of the main strands of English popular education and one of the main branches of the work of the churches in the nineteenth century. The story is a familiar one but it is worth retelling for the light it throws on the enormous change in thought that has taken place on the subject of popular and religious education.

The Sunday school movement was not the first attempt to secure social stability through simple Bible teaching. The eighteenth century had opened with a movement with the same aim, that for the setting up of charity and subscription schools. This, co-ordinated after 1699 by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, spread all over the country in a remarkable way. As its historian has said, it happily combined "the new method of associated philanthropy and the new device of joint-stock finance".¹ It was built up largely on the thesis that the poor could be reformed and kept in their due place in society by instruction in Bible and catechism. For all the early enthusiasm the vitality of the movement in England hardly outlasted the reigns of Anne and George I, though in Wales it was active longer and its effects were more lasting. The association of charity schools with places of worship did, however, survive, but they touched only a handful of children. Manchester in 1784 had charity schools connected with each of the five Anglican churches and with Cross Street Chapel.²

¹ M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement* (1938), 3.

² *Manchester Mercury*, 27th January, 1784.

The charity school movement had not been unchallenged on its merits. There was acrimonious debate whether the children of the poor should be educated at all. In the great stirring of thought during the English Revolution of 1640-1660 there had seemed to be hope that the ideal of a system of popular education, aided by the State, might be realised. The hope faded away, as do so many dreams of educational advance under the stress of war. The economic theory that came to dominate the popular mind was harsh. What Defoe called "the great law of subordination" prevailed. Was not education a bad thing because it might set people above themselves? As late as 1763 a writer could argue :

"The charity school is another universal nursery of idleness ; nor is it easy to conceive or invent anything more destructive to the interests and very foundation principles of a nation entirely dependent on its trade and manufactures than the giving an education to the children of the lowest class of her people that will make them condemn those drudgeries for which they were born." ¹

These ideas died hard. The charity school movement had had to fight against them in England, though less fiercely in Wales, while in Scotland they were largely rejected. The movement certainly had not made what we should think extravagant claims. Isaac Watts, one of the great controversialists on the side of the schools, had explained that their aim was "to teach the duties of humility and submission to superiors", and of "diligence and industry in their business". The children's clothes, the school uniform of the charity schools, were, he said, "of the coarsest kind, and of the plainest form, and thus they are sufficiently distinguished from children of the better rank, and they ought to be so distinguished". There was, he declared, "no ground for charity children to grow vain and proud of their rayment when it is but a sort of livery".² We shall meet with these ideas again. Still the charity schools did teach a few children to read and write and satisfied the philanthropic instinct. But even they got bogged down, first in

¹ *Considerations on the Fatal Effects to a Trading Nation of the Present Excess of Public Charity* (1763), 25. For this and similar quotations see E. S. Furniss, *The Position of the Laborer in a System of Nationalism* (1920), 148-149.

² Watts, Isaac, *An Essay towards the Encouragement of Charity Schools* (1728), quoted Jones, *op. cit.*, 74-75.

Jacobitism, then in the eternal struggle between Church and Dissent.

Then, in the early eighties, quite suddenly, the Sunday school movement flashed over the country. One wonders whether any social reform movement had ever before spread with equal rapidity through England. It was one of the first unconscious triumphs of the press. The precise parentage of Sunday schools is disputed and hardly matters. It seems a fairly obvious thing to collect a few children together on a Sunday (their only free day), teach them to read, catechise them, and see they go to church. Doubtless it occurred to quite a number of good people up and down the country. But the kindling spark of the national movement was undoubtedly the effort of Robert Raikes at Gloucester. He was a printer and the proprietor of the *Gloucester Journal*, a well-disposed, prosperous man interested in prison reform among other good works. He was a humane man, yet also a prudent man. When he described in his paper the alarming mortality in Gloucester gaol he could not forbear adding :

"It were well if those unthinking people who now enjoy but abuse their life and liberty to the violation of the law and the detriment of society, would reflect on the danger of infection and the other miseries that await them in a crowded prison."

And, again :

"Could unhappy wretches see the misery that awaits them in a crowded gaol they would surely relinquish the gratifications that reduce them to such a state of wretchedness."¹

So too, on that famous morning in 1780, the reform of morals was uppermost in his mind when he heard of the misbehaviour of the child workers of the Gloucester pin factory.

" ' Ah, sir ', said the woman to whom I was speaking, ' could you take a view of this part of the town on a Sunday, you would be shocked indeed ; for then the street is filled with multitudes of these wretches, who, released that day from employment, spend their time in noise and riot, playing at " chuck ", and cursing and swearing in a manner so horrid as to convey to any serious mind an idea of hell, rather than any other place.' "²

¹ Gregory, Alfred. *Robert Raikes, Journalist and Philanthropist* (1880 ed.), 31-32.

² Raikes to Richard Townley. First published *Manchester Mercury*, 6th January, 1784.

How, he wondered, to take these "wretches" off the streets? So he hit on his plan "to check the deplorable profanation" of the Sabbath, arranged with four keepers of dame schools to open on a Sunday, and teach children reading and the Church catechism, for a shilling a day. A schoolmaster-clergyman, Thomas Stock, joined and superintended their spiritual welfare.

The schools, or rather classes, for each teacher had about twenty children, spread in Gloucester and by the autumn of 1783 there were between two and three hundred scholars. It was then that the movement was introduced to a wider world. On 3rd November, 1783, Raikes published the following in his paper:

"Some of the clergy in different parts of this county, bent upon attempting a reform among the children of the lower class, are establishing Sunday-Schools, for rendering the Lord's day subservient to the ends of instruction, which has hitherto been prostituted to bad purposes. Farmers, and other inhabitants of the towns and villages, complain that they receive more injury to their property on the Sabbath than all the week besides: this, in a great measure, proceeds from the lawless state of the younger class, who are allowed to run wild on that day, free from every restraint. To remedy this evil, persons duly qualified are employed to instruct those that cannot read; and those that may have learnt to read are taught the catechism and conducted to church. By thus keeping their minds engaged, the day passes profitably, and not disagreeably. In those parishes where the plan has been adopted, we are assured that the behaviour of the children is greatly civilised. The barbarous ignorance in which they had before lived being in some degree dispelled, they begin to give proofs that those persons are mistaken who consider the lower orders of mankind incapable of improvement, and therefore think an attempt to reclaim them impracticable, or, at least, not worth the trouble."¹

The paragraph went the round of the papers, for in those days scissors and paste were not the least important of the journalist's implements. Eighty or ninety per cent. of a country paper's news content was "lifted" from the London papers, and the London papers reciprocated by drawing freely on what little original matter the country journals had. This press publicity, modest and unobtrusive by present standards, set the movement going. For instance, Richard Townley of Belfield, a small squire and magistrate at Rochdale,² must have written immediately, on seeing a reprint of Raikes's paragraph,

¹ Gregory, *op. cit.*, 68.

² Richard Townley (1726-1802), the son of a Rochdale mercer. He had some literary pretensions, was a friend and patron of Tim Bobbin, and wrote intelligent letters on agriculture and other subjects to the Manchester papers.

to the mayor of Gloucester, who passed the letter on to Raikes. Raikes replied on 25th November with a long account, from which we have quoted. Townley sent it on 26th December to Harrop's *Manchester Mercury*, with a note saying that he had Raikes's permission "for publishing it in such County Journals or Newspapers, as I shall judge proper".¹ A little later he returned to the attack with highly practical proposals. The magistrates, he suggested, should approve Mr. Raikes's ideas and recommend the churchwardens and overseers within their districts to set up schools. These could be supported by fines imposed for Sabbath breaking and cursing and swearing, by an annual collection at places of worship, and by donations. He even suggested that the collectors at the church door should have "Bags, large Purses, or small Straw Baskets instead of the open Boxes commonly used" so as not to leave the giver open to "impertinent Observation".²

All this had its fruits in Lancashire and Townley's letter-writing may also have been the genesis of the Yorkshire movement which was well begun by May. Leeds had then 1800 scholars; Huddersfield and Dewsbury followed³ and by 18th July Wesley, then at Bingley, could note: "I find these schools springing up wherever I go". Lancashire was a little later than Yorkshire, but by August there was great activity. On 10th August the Manchester movement was announced (there were already some schools there); on 17th August Hollinwood reported a gift of spelling books from Mr. Raikes; on 24th August schools were reported to have been set up at Rochdale and Bury.⁴ From now on, for the next few years, you can hardly turn over a newspaper without finding little paragraphs about the setting up of Sunday schools, always it appears with miraculous results.⁵ It would be hard without

¹ *Manchester Mercury*, 6th January, 1784.

² *Ibid.*, 27th January, 1784. Raikes's letter to Townley was also printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1784, as communicated by "A Friend to Virtue", writing from Sheffield. This may be a misprint for Belfield and the writer Townley himself.

³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1784, i. 377, 410.

⁴ *Manchester Mercury* for these dates.

⁵ There is a useful list of Lancashire references (drawn from the *Mercury*) in Bardsley, C. W., *Memorials of St. Ann's Church, Manchester* (1877), 120-121.

many quotations to illustrate the naive enthusiasm with which they were launched. Magistrates and bishops gave their blessing. The King and Queen showed their interest. Raikes became a national figure and basked in the sun of royal approbation. Fanny Burney, fixing up the arrangements for him to be received by the King and Queen, has left her impressions of the estimable man :

Mr. Raikes is not a man that without a previous disposition towards approbation I should have admired. He is somewhat too flourishing, somewhat too forward, somewhat too volatile ; but he is worthy, benevolent, good-natured, and good-hearted, and therefore the overflowing of successful spirits and delighted vanity must meet with some allowance."

Raikes had indeed started something greater than he knew and the effects overwhelmed him. His innocuous paragraph had led to a national movement patronised by great and small. And, as is always the way, the indefatigable good of London had started a national undenominational society (in 1785) to spread a national plan.¹ Why should not Raikes have been a little bumptious when Adam Smith could tell him : " No plan has promised to effect a change of manners with equal ease and simplicity since the days of the Apostles " ? And had not Wesley, with slightly more chronological caution, said : " I verily think these schools are one of the noblest specimens of charity which have been set on foot in England since the time of William the Conqueror ". In these two dicta—of the economist and of the enthusiast—the leading strains of thought meet : the Sunday schools were a utilitarian plan for reforming morals and so securing property ; they were also a charity satisfying the Christian instinct of benevolence. Their peculiar attractiveness lay in their combination of the two.

The Manchester Committee took a census of schools in the Salford Hundred in 1788 and the incomplete returns showed 6598 scholars at 32 places outside Manchester and Salford, the largest being Bolton 950, Hey Chapel 445, Ringley 430, Rochdale 426, and Ashton-under-Lyne 406 (*Manchester Mercury*, 10th September, 1788).

¹ Whitaker, W. B., *The Eighteenth Century English Sunday* (1940), 219. Its report of 1797 mentions that thirty-seven Lancashire and six Cheshire schools had been assisted, but Manchester and Salford were apparently outside its scope. *Plan of a Society . . . for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday Schools* (1797).

In this remarkable movement Manchester took a high place and we must now turn to see how it organised itself.

Manchester (with Salford) had then a population of between 50,000 and 60,000—say about that of Bury or Lancaster to-day. But it was growing fast. It had been about 25,000 in 1750; it was to be 100,000 by 1800. This expansion, mostly the result of immigration, produced terrible overcrowding and jerry-building. The people lived in a close-packed area, badly paved, largely unsewered, badly lit. Local government services were rudimentary, indeed by modern standards hardly existent. Of educational provision there was hardly any. By 1784 Manchester had seen only the beginnings of the factory system. But everyone was conscious of the feverish industrial expansion and of the growing preponderance of what was called the “manufacturing poor” or, as they were later to be known, the “working classes”. The French Revolution had yet to cast its spell but the middle classes were already uneasy. There was a rising standard of living, showing itself in things like tea-drinking, the use of wheaten instead of oat bread, and absenteeism from work, which it was hard for the rich to understand. The working classes seemed to be becoming luxurious and to be less content to accept their due subordination in society. And, of course, there was a good deal of actual demoralisation and occasional turbulence in this new raw urban society, addicted to all the brutish pleasures and amusements of the English eighteenth century. The materialistic arguments for Sunday schools had an intelligible basis. Then also we must allow for the genuine philanthropic and humanitarian impulses which moved even such a utilitarian community, and had already founded the infirmary and dispensary and the lunatic hospital, and were soon to found a lying-in hospital, a humane society, and the “Stranger’s Friend” for people outside the poor law.

The Manchester Sunday School movement was formally launched on 10th August, 1784, with an advertisement in the papers¹ by the boroughreeve and constables commending “An Address to the Public on Sunday Schools”. This began in the usual way :

¹ E.g. *Manchester Mercury*, 10th August, 1784.

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"The Neglect of it [education] is one principal Cause of the Misery of Families, Cities and Nations: Ignorance, Vice and Misery, being constant Companions. The hardest Heart must melt at the melancholy Sight of such a Multitude of Children, both Male and Female, in this Town, who live in gross Ignorance, Infidelity, and habitual Profanation of the Lord's Day. What Crowds fill the Streets! tempting each other to Idleness, Play, Lewdness, and every other Species of Wickedness. . . . To attempt a remedy is laudable and divine."

It passed on to recite the example of "the clergyman of Stroud" (it is curious that Raikes was not mentioned) and of another at Leeds, and then described the Leeds plan. That town was divided into seven divisions, and had 26 schools, 44 or 45 masters, and over 2000 scholars. "As it is not customary for children to play in the morning and lest too much confinement should weary them, they enter the school at one o'clock in the afternoon and are kept in till the evening comes, according to the time of the year, being only permitted to ask out, or go one by one. They are conducted by their respective masters to Church; part of them goes to the three churches at three o'clock, the rest to evening prayers at six o'clock in their turns. They are instructed in reading, writing, and the principles of Christianity". A form of prayer was used, and "inquisitors" were to be appointed to visit the schools. Funds were to be raised by a house to house collection. The masters were paid 2s., 1s. 6d., or 1s. a Sunday according to their qualifications. The "schools" (that is, rooms in houses, etc.) were hired at 30s., 21s., or 15s. a year.

This was broadly the plan that came to be adopted in Manchester. Already by 10th August a number of schools had been set up in Manchester and these were to be made part of a general movement. A subscription book was left open at the Exchange Coffee House. By 21st September there were 25 schools, attended by nearly 1800 children.¹ On 24th September a town's meeting was held with the lord of the manor, Sir John Parker Mosley, in the chair, and an imposing and representative committee was appointed, with the Rev. John Bennett of St. Mary's as secretary.² Manchester was then predominantly Anglican but both Church and Dissent were on

¹ *Manchester Mercury*, 21st September, 1784.

² *Ibid.* 28th September, 1784; Minutes (MS.) in Chetham Library.

the committee. The town was divided into five districts (there were five Anglican churches), each with a sub-committee. (Salford was not tackled for two years.) The first duty was to overhaul the existing schools and to turn away the children under six. By December the Collegiate Church district had seven different rooms in use, St. John's four, St. Mary's three, St. Ann's two, and St. Paul's ten. The main committee met monthly and exercised its control over the schools by visitors, three of whom were chosen each month to inspect the schools and make reports. Children had to present a subscriber's recommendation and "no subscriber shall recommend any children whose parents may be supposed capable or able to send them to any other school". Hours of attendance were: October to February, 9 to 12 and 1 to 4; March to September, 9 to 12, 2 to 5. Children were to attend the nearest school in their district, except that Dissenters "may prefer a more distant Master of their own persuasion". The visitors were to regulate the time and mode of attendance at divine service. Masters were to be paid 1s. 6d. a day, undermasters and mistresses 1s. "Swearing, lying or any other profaneness" brought expulsion. School was to be opened and closed with a psalm or hymn and a form of prayer was prepared. Scholars were to be catechised. "Children of the Established Church shall be grounded by the Masters in the Principles of the Church Catechism only." Parents were expected to hear their children repeat their lessons at home during the week.¹

The Manchester children were taught to read only, and from books and tracts of a strictly religious and improving nature. The Church of England children were provided with prayer books and the Dissenters with their approved substitute. Prizes were distributed for regular attendance and proficiency. The first chosen were Dr. Isaac Watts's "Divine Songs for Children". Some of its pieces were included in the Manchester Committee's school hymn-book. Next year the committee chose as prizes "The Great Importance of a Religious Life", "Serious Advice against Lying", and "Serious Advice against Swearing". Then 300 copies of Mrs. Trimmer's

¹ Rules and Orders, *Manchester Mercury*, 11th January, 1785.

“ Servants’ Friend ” were printed to be given to “ those young persons who during their attendance in Sunday schools have behaved well and are going out to service ”. But Manchester produced its own improving literature. In 1789 the following dialogue between two scholars, recited before school visitors, was published :

- FIRST. O ! happy day, appointed for reproof
Which brings our feet beneath this welcome roof,
Where we may learn to read, to hear, and speak
The paths of Virtue, which we ought to take :
Where we can find instruction, and delight
To pass in cheerful songs the sabbath night.
- SECOND. I too with joy this blessed day receive,
And hope we shall assemble here at eve ;
Yea, gladly welcome ev’ry sabbath day—
For we shou’d love the school more than our play.
- FIRST. It gives me pleasure much to find that we
In these respects so happily agree ;
And children yonder playing in the street
Had better here some useful task repeat.
- SECOND. I think so too ; for though I love right well
To play, I love to sing, and read, and spell :
But play in school time we ought not indeed,
For if we do, how shall we learn to read ?
To love our sport and not our books, at once
Displays a hopeless child, a playful dunce.
- FIRST. Hopeless indeed : and we who better know,
Shou’d thank the hands from whom our favours flow :
For by their goodness we may here improve,
And bless the worthy labours of their love.
- SECOND. Right, and I’ll join you in this Christian part,
To pay the tribute of a grateful heart.
- BOTH. Then as our thanks to all our friends are due,
We give them now to *you*, to *you*, and *you*.¹

To appreciate the setting we should remember that Sunday was the only day on which the children could either go to school or play. On weekdays they worked, either by night or day, twelve hours a day or more. The peculiar felicity of the arrangement was noted by Beilby Porteus, Bishop of Chester, when, in 1785, in a letter of encouragement to the Manchester Committee, he wrote :

¹ *Wheeler’s Manchester Chronicle*, 11th April, 1789.

"The institution of Sunday schools I have always considered as one of the most probable means of diffusing sentiments of virtue and religion among the common people. They are more especially necessary in such populous manufacturing towns as Manchester, where the children are during the week days generally employed in work and on the Sunday are too apt to be idle, mischievous and vitious."¹

In a letter to his clergy in the following year he enlarged on the theme :

"The greater part of the children educated in the Sunday schools are not merely taught to be diligent and laborious by *words* and *precepts*, but what is far more useful and efficacious, they are actually trained up from their very childhood in *habits* of industry. They consist for the most part of such as are employed in trades, manufactures, or husbandry-work : to this they give up six days in the week, and on the remaining one (the Lord's day), they are instructed in the rudiments of Christian faith and practice.

"By this wise expedient, that most desirable *union*, which has been so often wished for in Charity Schools, but which it has been generally found so difficult to introduce, is at length accomplished, the union of *manual labour* and *spiritual instruction*. These are by means of the Sunday schools both carried on together and the interests both of this life and the next so consulted, as not to interfere with or obstruct each other."²

And what made the arrangement especially satisfactory was that it was cheap. As the bishop noted : "The whole expence of instructing twenty children, including books, rewards, and every other charge, will not amount to five pounds a year ; a sum so trifling and so easy to be raised that it cannot create the smallest difficulty."³

Manchester showed the same goodwill. After the first year the secretary of the schools exclaimed :

"The improvement of these children in learning has been wonderful ; in religious knowledge still more surprising ; and, when they sing to the praise and glory of their maker, they appear a tribe of embryo-angels training for the skies. Every Christian heart glows with triumph ; and heaven seems for a moment transplanted upon earth."⁴

Most comment, however, dwelt rather on the better behaviour of the children in the streets. In a few years Manchester came to have thirty-six schools and Salford six, with, in all, over 5000

¹ Minutes, 11th August, 1785.

² *A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester concerning Sunday Schools* (1786), 11.

³ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁴ *The Advantages of Sunday Schools. A Sermon . . .* by the Rev. J. Bennett (1785), 4.

scholars on the books. The schools varied much in size. Many seem to have been rooms in houses and warehouses but some, with two or three hundred scholars, were in factories, lent by the owners. Each district was under the supervision of its own "visitors" (we might call them superintendents), with regular calls from the "general visitors" of the central committee. Until 1788 all the visitors were men. Then the visitors were asked to "sound the inclinations of their female friends" as to whether they would care to look after the girls' schools. In 1797 the committee proposed the appointment of a "lady patroness" for each district to encourage the children by taking some under her particular notice. It was suggested that she should bring along with her some of her friends to hear the children catechised. This touch of feudalism was too much for the democratic spirit of the lady visitors; they protested and the committee hastily dropped the idea.

The schools were financed from two sources—annual subscriptions and church collections. The subscription list was long and representative; even the mule spinners' society contributed. The individual amounts were small, ranging mostly from two guineas to five shillings. The collections were taken at all the places of worship in the town from the Collegiate Church to the "Romish Chapel". These "anniversary services" ran on successive Sundays from September onwards. Between £900 and £1100 a year was raised in roughly equal proportions from the two sources. The expenditure was mainly on teachers' wages, rent, firing, candles, books and printing.

Discipline was pretty strict. The visitors had many things to watch, including the regrettable tendency of zealous teachers to break into extempore prayer, which was frowned upon.¹ No holidays were allowed in the schools and teachers who gave one were reprimanded. Another prohibition was against any

¹ Minutes, 7th March, 1791. In the controversy of 1799 it was noted that the rules did not extend to "absolute prohibition of extempore prayer". The point was still troubling the Anglican Committee in 1815 when a meeting of subscribers rejected a proposed rule excluding "all extemporaneous prayer and addresses upon any occasion, further than was necessary to the explanation of a word or a sentence, except such prayer or address should be uttered by a minister" (*Manchester Magazine*, 1815, 497).

"Festival under the name of a Parting", presumably a leaving party. The committee spent a good deal of money on books, and in 1797 bought 2000 "horn books"—a first reader covered with horn. A prize book in 1788 had the unappetising title of "The Sacrament explained to the Meanest Capacity". Altogether the schools seem to have been conducted with both zeal and efficiency. The touch of coercion was not absent for the committee sought to have it made a condition that parents receiving poor relief should send their children to Sunday school.

The number of sermons preached bearing the title "A Defence of Sunday Schools" reminds us that they had their opponents. We do not meet in Manchester any heretics like William Godwin who criticised them because "the chief lessons that are taught are a superstitious veneration for the church of England, and to bow to every man in a handsome coat".¹ The Manchester Committee in 1792 had to rebut the opposite charge, the same that had been brought against the charity schools:

"The wit of man . . . has not yet been able to contrive a mode of Charity, against which no plausible objection could be raised by avarice or perverseness. Even against Sunday Schools we have sometimes heard it insinuated, that our exertions can do no real service (perhaps injury) to those who are the objects of this Charity: That it may refine and innervate, and consequently disqualify for the duties of an humble station. Suggestions these that must arise, if not from a worse motive, from ignorance of the nature and end of Sunday Schools. Refinement is not their object. The instructions bestowed are such as give strength and resolution to the heart. They call in a sense of religious obligation to the aid of industry."

Admittedly the streets were still full of youthful profligacy and disorder. But, the Manchester Committee pleaded, consider how much worse things might be if there were no schools!²

The more serious and persistent criticism came from the extreme evangelical side. If the Sunday schools were themselves the product of the new Puritanism, they were assailed by those who were still more Puritan. When the pains of Hell were a real prospect the precise limits of the Fourth Commandment became a matter of extreme moment. Indeed, it is a question Parliament has been unable to settle yet. The Manchester Committee was always strongly Sabbatarian. In 1785 it called

¹ *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1797 ed.), ii, 299.

² *Report*, 1st July, 1792.

on the Conductors of the Special Constables "to take in rotation and patrol the streets on Sunday noon and evening to prevent Gambling and other Disorders that have prevailed on that day". It protested in 1787 against the "growing evil" of the Sunday work which was defeating the object of the schools. And from 1786 it set its face against the teaching of writing on Sunday: "Resolved that no teacher shall be permitted to instruct any children belonging to the Sunday schools in writing on the Lord's day". It was not that the Committee was against teaching writing as such for from 1794 it assisted schools which wished to teach writing to the children on Wednesday evenings. It provided the desks and inkstands, the other costs being borne by the visitors or perhaps from fees.

This question of Sunday writing was a bone of contention in the Sunday schools for two or three generations. It seemed such a natural thing to the keen educationist that if you could teach reading on Sunday you should also teach writing—if this was the only day the children were free to be taught. The extreme Sabbatarians were, however, already suspicious of the way reading was taught and feared that the attractions of school interfered with the children's church attendance. There was a lively and quite characteristic controversy in 1798 following on a published sermon by the parson of Mellor Chapel (near Stockport). He had inveighed against what he called the "modern Sunday school". The argument was:

"Those Sunday schools are direct violations of the law of the Sabbath (1) where any kind of learning is taught during the season of public worship and made to serve instead of it, and (2) where any instructions are given, on any part of the day, which relate only to this world, and not immediately to the soul. In all such cases, both the teachers and the taught are employed in profaning the Lord's day, instead of keeping it holy, and improving it for the soul's spiritual advantage."

This was answered by Joseph Mayer, a teacher at the Stockport Sunday School, who contended that as the children had to go in relays to church, since there were so many of them, it was better to occupy them in writing than to turn them loose. More daring still, he justified the teaching of arithmetic. With naive textual illustrations he pointed out that the Bible, especially the Pentateuch and the Prophets, could not be understood without

some knowledge of arithmetic. What was more, "It is by the knowledge of arithmetic that we obtain some of the best arguments in favour of the Christian religion. Indeed, without this science, we must give up some of its strongest foundations." The parson of Ringway rejoined in another pamphlet that if writing could be taught why not knitting and sewing? It was absurd to try to reform mankind by a breach of the Fourth Commandment.¹

The Church of England barred the teaching of writing on Sunday more often than did the Methodists or the Dissenters, but these were far from being united. Samuel Bamford describes with some bitterness how, while the newer Methodist societies accepted it, the main body decided against it.² This was by resolution of the Wesleyan Conference in 1814. Since, however, the connection of many of the schools with the Methodist societies was loose the prohibition was not wholly effective. It was not, indeed, until 1827 that the Conference brought the schools into the connexional machine and laid down rules for their governance. These reaffirmed the prohibition on the teaching of writing "or any other merely secular branch of knowledge" on Sunday.³ Other sects were less severe and some of the most successful and popular schools had quite a varied curriculum.⁴

After its first flush of enthusiasm in the 1780s the Sunday school movement fell away in many parts of the country. In the North it took vigorous root and, as we have seen, spread into the wider educational field. The Manchester Committee even ventured on the education of adults, though it is hard to say how extensively. It decided in 1788 "that a school be opened in each district for the instruction of grown up persons". In

¹ Ollerenshaw, the Rev. M., *A Sermon on the Religious Education of Children and the Usefulness of Sunday Schools* . . . (1798); Mayer, J., *A Defence of the Sunday Schools: attempted in a series of letters addressed to the Rev. M. Ollerenshaw* (1798); Whitaker, T., *Four Letters to Mr. J. Mayer of Stockport on his Defence of the Sunday Schools* (1798); Mayer, J., *Candid Animadversions on the Rev. Thomas Whitaker's Four Letters* (1798).

² Bamford, Samuel, *Early Days* (1849), 107.

³ Mathews, H. E., *Methodism and the Education of the People* (1949), 41-42; Whitaker, W. B., *The Eighteenth Century English Sunday* (1940), 229-230.

⁴ Cf. McLachlan, H., *The Methodist Unitarian Movement* (1919), 104.

April, 1790, it decided that the "evening schools for grown up young people" should be discontinued until September and the teachers be paid only sixpence an evening. (This was apparently an economy measure as funds were low.) Two schools for young men and two for young women were approved in 1792, and in 1795 one for young men and women "as near as can be had to No. 31 John Street, Ancoats". In 1794 it agreed that a school in Lever's Gates should be allowed a few shilling books and also candles on Sunday evenings in order to instruct grown-up persons in reading. These must have been the first Manchester night-schools.

The interdenominational idyll lasted barely fifteen years. In Manchester, as in most other places, the Church of England took fright and decided to go its own way. In the charity school movement at the beginning of the century Dissent had parted company with Anglicanism because of the supposed taint of Jacobitism. Now it was the Anglicans who parted company with Dissent because it was supposed to be tainted with the subversive doctrines of the French Revolution on the one hand and of Methodism on the other. "Schools of Jacobinical religion and Jacobinical politics abound in this country in the shape of charity schools and Sunday schools", declared the Bishop of Rochester in 1800. In them the minds of "the very lowest orders" were taught to despise religion and the laws of all subordination. His antidote was Sunday schools for the same class under clerical control.¹ In Manchester also the loyalty of Dissenters was looked on with some suspicion. They were, a colonel reported to the Home Office in 1792, "all seditiously inclined".²

This was nonsense, but passions ran high. The attitude towards "Jacobinism"—the ideas of the French Revolution—was much like that towards Communism to-day, and the Manchester Committee on 7th January, 1793 was firm on the dismissal of "any teacher or assistant who shall be proved to be disaffected to the present Government". The cause of

¹ Quoted Jones, *op. cit.*, 153.

² Marshall, L. S., *Development of Public Opinion in Manchester 1780-1820* (1946), 120-121.

the Manchester schism was, however, the Methodists. Or at least that is how it was described by the Anglican Committee in 1802 :

"about three years ago the Committee was disturbed by an Intimation, that the People called Methodists were exerting an undue Influence both in the Committee and in the Schools at large ; that a large Proportion of the Visitors and Teachers were of that Persuasion ; and that their ruling Object was to make Proselytes of the Children, and by every Artifice to draw them from the Church to the Conventicle.

"The Clergy, as might reasonably be expected, took the alarm, and the event was, as might be expected also, that they and their Friends determined upon the Establishment of Sunday-Schools *to be appropriated to the use of the Established Church*, with which no order of Dissenters should interfere, but which, being supported by a distinct Fund, and governed by a distinct Committee, might hold forth a Security to the Public, that the Children would be preserved free from the taint of every evil Principle and Persuasion unfavourable to those in which they were intended to be educated."

The actual minutes of the committee present affairs less dramatically. The revolt was led by the parsons of St. James's and St. Mary's, Dr. Bayley and the Rev. C. P. Myddelton. There was a strong effort by the rest of the committee, Church as well as Dissent, to patch things up and alter the rules to suit them, but the two were obstinate and an amicable parting of the ways was agreed on. The trouble had been going on for two years and, as reflected in the minutes, mainly concerned the attendance of the children at church. In an effort at appeasement the committee strongly reaffirmed the rule of compulsory attendance, adding that it was

"from the consideration and under the persuasion that the *principal* use of the institution of Sunday schools is to habituate the children to a pious and orderly observance of the Sabbath day and of the duties to which it points ; and that whatever advantages may be derived from learning to read it is a benefit of far higher importance and more essential concern to impress on young minds a devout sense of duty towards God and their neighbour, by introducing them early into habits of public and private worship, and thereby forming them to the love and practice of all Christian virtues ".

From other resolutions it would seem that Church children had been straying (perhaps under the influence of Methodist visitors and teachers) to services outside the pale.

There is no open suggestion here that the Methodists were "seditious" though there were many to believe it. The Ringway parson already quoted could hint that the Stockport teacher who

had defended "modern" Sunday schools was a Methodist who had "a kind of disposition to turn Frenchman". Actually the Methodist leaders went out of their way to show their loyalty to the Government and to law and order. Thus in 1801, when the Duke of Portland was at the Home Office, Dr. Thomas Coke, the "father of missions", kept up a flow of reports from his travels on the seditious organisations he heard talked about in Lancashire and Yorkshire. He confessed his sorrow that three Methodists had been arrested but, he added, "on the strictest scrutiny and fullest satisfaction, I was happy enough to find that those men had been expelled the late Mr. Wesley's Society about five years ago solely for their Democratic sentiments".¹

But there was this amount of truth in the fear of Methodism, even if not of its conservative leaders—it appealed to the poor, and it was from the poor that the threat of revolution came. Some modern historians have plausibly argued that it was the Methodists who, by diverting the thoughts of the working classes towards Heaven and away from their miseries, saved England from revolution. The argument can be pressed too far, for Methodism was plainly subversive in the sense that it encouraged people to organise themselves outside clerical bonds.

What, however, probably troubled the Church party in Manchester most was the aggressiveness of Methodism. It was only in the 1790s that the Methodists had emerged as a distinct church. The "Plan of Pacification", providing for the administration of the sacrament in Methodist chapels, did not come until 1795, and there were vigorous forces inside Methodism which demanded complete secession from the Church of England to which Wesley had kept it so ambiguously tied. The number of ministers had risen from 278 in 1790 to 442 in 1800, and the membership had grown by more than half. The hatred of Methodism in large sections of the Established Church was intense. Sydney Smith, a liberal-minded man, treated the Methodists, along with their evangelical Anglican counterparts, as part of "one general conspiracy against common sense, and

¹ Wearmouth, R. F., *Methodism and the Working Class Movements of England* (1937), 61.

rational orthodox Christianity". He poked fun at the more extravagant forms of their preaching, their substitution of Providence for the mundane course of Nature, and their hatred of pleasure and amusements. He warned the Church that it might lose the "middling and lower classes", and though he had nothing very bold to suggest as counterweight, for he was all for toleration, he did think that: "The greatest and best of all remedies, is perhaps the education of the poor;—we are astonished that the Established Church in England is not awake to this means of arresting the progress of Methodism".¹ With that the Manchester churchmen, much as they might differ from Sydney Smith's Whiggery, would have agreed. But that education, they held, must be clerically controlled.

The Manchester division came on 5th May, 1800. The schools were divided between the Anglicans and the Dissenters and the latter continued their group for a time as the Sunday Schools of All Denominations. Each side had to gather strength after the two years of confusion and lessened support. The Church divided itself into ten districts, each under the parish clergyman, with visitors and collectors. Funds had run low during the disruption and teachers' wages had had to be reduced and even withheld. At the same time sectarian discipline was tightened. Parents were warned that "if they allow their children to attend schools of the opposite Party they must not expect to be admitted again into the schools belonging to the Established Church". The ground lost was soon recovered, and though the funds had their ups and downs the schools grew in popularity. The organisers had, however, to face competition. The report of 1814 noted rather sadly that the eyes of the benevolent had been turned to the British and Foreign Bible Society and the missionary societies. It pleaded that "in the eagerness to convert Gentiles abroad" it should not be forgotten that "there are Gentiles at home". The paragraph gave so much offence that a special meeting was held and more innocuous words were substituted.

The greatest stroke of the Church schools was to start the holding of the Whit-Monday processions. The children had

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, 1808. *Works* (1859), i. 101.

always attended the charity sermons. Now they were to gather in St. Ann's Square and attend in a body a single sermon for the whole of Manchester and Salford. It was at first intended that they should go to St. Ann's but this was changed to the Collegiate Church. And on 6th May, 1801, began one of the most famous of Manchester institutions.¹ The Dissenters also came to have their processions but never with the same united organisation.

The number of Church of England scholars at the time of the disruption had fallen to under 3000, but it soon doubled and stood at between 7000 and 8000 from 1810 to 1821. The number of Church schools fell from 24 in 1802 to 17 in 1810, largely because the smaller ones were given up. Special buildings came to be erected as the connection with the churches grew closer.²

Material on the history of the Nonconformist Sunday schools is more fragmentary. There was a great increase in the number and variety of Dissenting chapels. In 1784 the Anglican places of worship outnumbered the Dissenters by almost three to one ; by 1804 the Anglican churches were as three to four ; by 1825 they were fewer than one to two ; by 1836 fewer than one to three. Though many of the Dissenting chapels were small the changing balance of religious persuasion was reflected in the Sunday schools. In the minority in the 1790s, the Dissenting (including Roman Catholic) children slowly gained until by 1821 they were double the number of Anglican, and in the next decades increased their lead. In 1834-1835 in the boroughs of Manchester and Salford there were 13,025 children on the books of Church Sunday schools, 25,432 on those of Protestant Dissenters and 4493 on the Roman Catholic.³ The immediate successors of the Dissenting section of the schism of 1800 were the Schools for All Denominations, which lasted for over two

¹ See Bardsley, *op. cit.*, for the history of the processions.

² The interdenominational committee had had no special buildings. A legacy of £100 had been left to it and various sites were surveyed. As, however, the estate went into Chancery, the project dropped.

³ For the 1821 returns see *Manchester Guardian*, 6th May, 1821, quoted Maltby, S. E., *Manchester and the Movement for National Education, 1800-1870* (1918), 129 ; for 1834-1835 see Wheeler, J., *History of Manchester* (1836).

decades and came in the end to be mainly Methodist. Most other sects kept independent. By 1821 the "Schools for All Denominations" accounted for only 3947 of the 14,261 Protestant Dissenting children. All this, however, is a complicated story which deserves full investigation.

The character of the Sunday schools was changing, largely because of the disappearance of the paid teacher. In the early years he was universal; in 1797 he was still such a rarity in Manchester that a "gratuitous teacher" was specially presented with a Bible. But as the parochial and congregational element was strengthened voluntary service became more general. The Manchester Church Committee in 1812 spoke with "singular satisfaction" of "a class of respectable persons who have kindly come forward with their services in the capacity of *gratuitous* teachers"; it hoped for more. "The most flourishing and best-regulated schools", it noted, "are generally those in which the least money is paid to teachers for a given number of scholars, and where some of the regular visitors are *continually present* for the purpose of inspection". In some Nonconformist schools voluntary teachers had always been present. Wesley had noted them at Bolton in 1787. The famous Stockport Sunday School, undenominational, was distinguished from the rest in having mostly voluntary teachers; it had begun in November, 1784, as one of six schools conducted on a plan like that of Manchester, and still flourishes.¹ But in general the change took place in the early years of the nineteenth century, though some paid teachers lingered on until the seventies.²

We must not forget, however, that behind the panegyrics lay a very rudimentary sort of education. A return to the Select Committee of 1816 on Children in Manufactories estimated that only a quarter of the children in the Manchester and Salford schools could read and write; one-sixth were learning the alphabet; a third were learning to spell; one-sixth could read the Testament; one-twelfth could read the Bible.³

¹ Interesting evidence on the Stockport "gratuitous teachers" was given by Joseph Mayer in 1816 (*Minutes of Evidence, Sel. Comm. on State of Children employed in Manufactories*, 1816, 51).

² Bardsley, *op. cit.*, 133.

³ *Minutes of Evidence*, 389.

The history of Sunday schools in the nineteenth century lies outside the scope of this paper but a word should be said of their place in the development of popular education. They had helped to bring about a marked change in the attitude towards education. It could be complained in 1805 that the belief in education was carried "to so violent a degree that . . . the man who should dispute the wisdom of Sunday schools would be considered as unworthy attention".¹ The enthusiasm did not go far enough to carry Whitbread's Bill of 1807 for a national system of education, but there was enthusiasm, if also sectarian rancour, behind the great wrangle over the Lancaster and Bell systems of education two or three years later. Here, as in the Sunday schools, there was a simple and easy prescription. In the 1780s it had seemed that to take children off the streets on Sunday and teach them to read the Bible and repeat the Catechism would make them good and docile members of society. It was a short cut to the social millennium, just as the spinning frame and the steam engine seemed short cuts to a material millennium. Now, in the later years of the Napoleonic wars, it seemed possible to transform society by applying the factory system to education. Bell and Lancaster between them improved on the Sunday schools. Those schools had up to forty children under a paid teacher. One of the minor issues in the Manchester quarrel of 1799 had been whether the classes ought not, for the sake of efficiency, to be reduced to twenty-five children. Under the Bell and Lancaster systems the children were set to teach each other. Lancaster wanted to cover England with schools in each of which a thousand children should be taught in squads of ten by a hundred monitors, at an annual cost of 5s. a head. Manchester took up his plan in 1809 and the manifesto of the promoters (mostly Whigs and Nonconformists) explained ecstatically how "the Education of One thousand . . . can be accomplished by the superintendence of *one master*, and the aid of *three books*, whilst in the common and general mode, it would require, at least, twenty masters, and from one to two thousand books".²

¹ Playfair, W., quoted George, M. D., *London Life in the XVIIIth Century* (1925), 13.

² *Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle*, 8th April, 1809.

Manchester had its Lancasterian school and the Church followed with a Bell school several years later.¹ But for the great mass of children the Sunday school continued to be the only means of education. It is possible, indeed, to argue that the Sunday schools became almost an impediment to the emergence of a wider system of education, for they fixed the convention that Sunday was the proper time for instruction and they entrenched the sectarian interest in education. Certainly the promoters of the Lancasterian school had to put in their appeal some carefully worded sentences about co-operation with Sunday schools, and almost to suggest that week-day education was supplementary to Sunday.

The survey of 1821 showed that in Manchester and Salford only 2500 boys and girls were attending day schools (not counting private and dame schools), and 23,000 were attending Sunday schools. In 1834 the report of the Manchester Statistical Society showed that 10,000 attended day and evening schools only, 10,000 attended day and Sunday schools, 23,000 attended Sunday schools only, and 17,000 had no instruction whatever. But the battle of the sects went on and nothing is more melancholy than to see how the meagre education provided by the Sunday schools was made a screen for bitter opposition to State aid for education. This is one of the least edifying chapters in the history of Nonconformity.

But this passionate attachment to the voluntary principle, which had such blighting effects, was also the expression of a great virtue. The Sunday school had become a vital part of religious organisation and offered a field of warm personal service for the laity, especially for women, that did not exist in the indifferent eighteenth century. In the diary for 1816 of Benjamin Braidley, later Boroughreeve of Manchester, there is a passage characteristic of the new type of Sunday school worker. He was then a young man of twenty-four at St. Clement's Sunday school :

" My time is now occupied in this way : On the Sunday I am frequently at school during the whole day. On the Sunday evening I explain a chapter to

¹ The monitorial system was applied in 1812 in some Manchester Church Sunday schools.

as many scholars as choose to attend ; after which we go to church. After church time (about eight o'clock) we come to school, and have a prayer, &c. meeting until about a quarter or half-past nine. On Monday evenings I attend the writing school. On Tuesday evenings we meet the scholars, &c. (boys and girls separate) for prayer, &c. On Wednesday evenings I often have to attend committees of the Church Missionary Society, Sunday Schools, &c. &c. ; and there is also writing and accounts at the Sunday School. On Thursday evening I attend the writing, and on Friday evening I am generally at leisure, but we have accounts and writing at the school ; and on Saturday evenings I am generally at school ; so that I have very little leisure for other occupations. However, if my present employments bring glory to God, I am satisfied ! " ¹

It was this kind of devoted, single-minded man and woman who made the Sunday schools so great a source of moral influence during the nineteenth century. Disraeli wrote, with doubtful truth, of the "two nations" in English society. In the North and North Midlands, at any rate, rich and poor, master and man, met in the Sunday school. The mixture of social classes was freer there than perhaps in any other sphere of life. It was that, with their disinterested spirit, that gave them their unique social value in the harsh circumstances of the time.² There was something in the charge, which Canon Bardsley in 1877 felt it necessary to answer, that they were becoming "mere courting institutions" !³ But that was a way of saying that in those days of more limited interests, less easy travel, few distracting amusements, they were the focus of the social lives of a great part of Lancashire's population. Just a century ago, the *London Morning Chronicle* sent a reporter to Manchester to study the condition of its people. In the midst of much gloom he had some suggestive things to say of what he called "the Lancashire Sunday school system" : ⁴

¹ *Memoir of Benjamin Braidley, Esq.* (1845), 8-9. This school was later Bennett Street School, attached to St. Paul's, and famous as the biggest in Manchester. In 1812 it had 30 teachers, 40 monitors and 1,820 scholars ; in 1831 it had 2,700. Braidley gives an account of this remarkable school in his *Sunday School Memorials* (1831). It had had a sick society since 1812, a funeral society, and a writing school at which 250 children were taught. For details of this school in 1816 (including rules of its sick society) see *Mins. Sel. Common Children in Manufactories* (1816), 389, 394-399.

² Cf. Unwin, G., *Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights* (1924), 39-41.

³ Bardsley, *op. cit.*, 138.

⁴ Summarised in Chambers's *Repository of Instructive and Amusing Tracts*, vol. i, no. 1, 26-28.

"The Lancashire Sunday-school system has already attained a European reputation. The muster of children collected in the Peel Park on the recent occasion of the royal visit to Manchester, and amounting, it is said, to more than 70,000, was a memorable proof of the perfection of the organisation which could call forth in such order and discipline so vast a juvenile army. Narrow, and often sectarian as is the education given by establishments of the kind, it has worked an incalculable deal of good. You often hear in the north, that Lancashire would have been a hell upon earth were it not for its Sunday-schools. Long before educational committees of the privy-council, and British and Foreign School Societies were heard of—long ere the days of Institutes and Athenaeums—the Lancashire Sunday-schools were at work, impregnating the people with the rudiments of an education—rude and fanatical, perhaps, but which long kept alive the glow of moral sentiment and popular intelligence.

"The founders of the system still maintain a curious kind of local fame. Often will the visitor to Manchester observe, both in drawing-rooms and humble parlour-kitchens, little dingy portraits of soberly-clad, grave-looking men, whose names he has never heard of, and who yet will be pointed out to him as the greatest and most glorious of Englishmen. Of these the most renowned is an indefatigable worker in the cause of the name of Stott. For half a century, this gentleman was the foremost champion of the Lancashire Sunday-schools, and worked steadily on, although now accused of training up blood-thirsty young Jacobins, and again of organising an operative Jacquerie. The school to which he principally devoted himself opened with forty scholars. Its average number is now slightly under 3,000.¹

"Sunday-schools in Manchester are not only a vast educational instrument, but a great social fact. Nearly every school has its library, and many their benefit societies. At Whitsuntide, the yearly week of rest, every school has its country trip. Many of the richest men in Manchester will tell you, that to the Sunday-schools, which taught them to read and write, and inculcated habits of sobriety and honesty, they now owe their villas and their mills. Sunday-schools act also as powerful agents in binding different classes together. Men in the middle ranks of life very commonly act as teachers; and acquaintanceships formed in the school-room not unfrequently lead to life-long business connections. Families are for generations connected with the same school; a great proportion of the children, at any given time, are the offspring of old scholars; and a great proportion of the teachers were once scholars in the classes they subsequently instruct. The schools are elementary and religious. Scripture-reading and expounding, with instructions in psalmody, form the staple business of the meetings. Most schools have, however, their evening-classes, devoted to more secular instruction. For the working-day classes, small fees, varying from 2d. to 6d. per week, are paid. The Sunday education is entirely gratuitous. In general, the ages of the pupils vary from eight to twenty, and the girls commonly remain longer as scholars than the boys.

"The Manchester Sunday-schools hold, not only in educational but in social organisation, from 40,000 to 50,000 children and young persons, controlled by 4,000 or 5,000 teachers, assistants, and inspecting-visitors. Of the whole number, about 25,000 may belong to the church-schools, of which there are

¹ The reference is to Bennett Street School and its founder David Stott.

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about fifty. Of two Dissenting educational unions, the Manchester Union supports 28 schools, with a total of about 10,000 scholars ; the Salford Union about 15, with a total of 6,000 or 7,000 scholars. There are also Calvinistic and Roman Catholic Sunday-schools, so that the educational provision in this respect is, if not ample, at least a great and constantly working moral engine."

That is not an unfair picture. As this observer of 1850 saw, the Sunday schools were a great civilising influence in the raw, crude society which the Industrial Revolution created in Lancashire. They were begun as a form of police precaution imposed from above, and imbued with authoritarianism. They were transformed by the genius of ordinary people into a vital part of a democratic society. They had the defects of that sectarian age. Educationally they were a makeshift, a miserable substitute for day schooling. But, apart from their spiritual value, which is not here under discussion, they formed a point of social contact and sympathy in a confused and shifting community ; they threw a bridge across the gulf between classes ; they built up self-respect and individual responsibility ; and they encouraged that spirit of voluntary service and voluntary organisation which is, perhaps, almost the best thing the nineteenth century bequeathed to us.

STATISTICAL NOTE

The following are figures of children on the books of the Manchester and Salford Schools.

I. INTERDENOMINATIONAL COMMITTEE

<i>Year</i>	<i>Scholars</i>	<i>No. of Schools</i>	
		<i>Manchester</i>	<i>Salford</i>
1784 (Sept.)	1800	25	—
1785 (Oct.)	2291		—
1786 (April)	2836	34	—
1788	5006	36	6
1791	4663	36	6
1792	4646	36	6
1793	4970	36	6
1794	4786	36	6
1795	5171	36	6
1796	5326	36	6
1797	5171	36	6

II. ESTABLISHED CHURCH

Year	Scholars	No. of Schools
		Manchester and Salford
1801	3157	24
1802	3651	
1803	4434	
1804	4765	
1805	5124	
1806	5360	
1807	5264	
1808	6657	
1809	6680	
1810	7424	17
1811	7634	
1812	7030	
1813	7015	
1814	7602	
1818	7272	
1819	7090	17
1821	7647	19
1825	8048	21
1834-35	13,025	34

III. DISSENTERS

Year	Scholars	No. of Schools
		Manchester and Salford
1816 (a)	7040	
(b)	8092	
1821	14,261	39
1825	15,423	42
1834-35	25,432	72

IV. ROMAN CATHOLICS

Year	Scholars	No. of Schools
		Manchester and Salford
1816 (a)	1000	3
(b)	674	
1821	1200	8
1825	2213	
1834-35	4493	11

Sources :

I. *Manchester Mercury*, 21st Sept., 1784, 14th Oct., 1788; Bennett, J., *op. cit.*, 2nd Oct., 1785; Minutes (1786); *Reports*.

II. *Reports*; *Manchester Guardian*, 6th May, 1821; Baines, *Hist. Directory of Lancashire* (1825); Manchester Statistical Society's Report, 1834-35 (Wheeler, *op. cit.*, 386-388).

III and IV. As above. For 1816 (a) *Minutes of Sel. Committee on Children in Manufactories*, 97; for 1816 (b) *ibid.*, 388.

HAND-LIST OF THE CRUTCHLEY MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

By F. TAYLOR, M.A., PH.D.

KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS AND ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN IN THE JOHN
RYLANDS LIBRARY

(continued)

REDDISH, co. LANC. (*contd.*)

598. Final concord between Richard de Redich, plaintiff, and John de Chorlegh and Joan his wife, deforciant, respecting a messuage and land with appurtenances in Redich. Sat. in 3rd week of Lent, 1381.

599. Bond of William, son of William de Redych to Richard de Redych, sen., in 100 marks sterling for merchandise bought from him. Wigan, 7 Nov. 1391. 2 seals: (1) William, son of William de Redych, heral. (2) Statute Merchant Recognizance Seal of Wigan.

600. Bond of indemnity of Richard de Rediche, sen., Hugh del Broke, Richard Jackson, Robert Hoggeson and John del Longlegh to William, son of William de Rediche. 1 Jan. 1392. 4 seals, missing.

601. Bond of indemnity of William de Hulme and his brother John de Hulme, to Richard de Redych and Ralph de Redych his son. 13 Nov. 1399. 2 seals.

602. Bond of indemnity of John, son of John de Aynsworth, Thomas de Pykford and William de Longden to Ralph de Redych. 9 Sept. 1401. Seal, missing.

603. Acquittance of Robert de Legh, kt., to Hugh de Rediche. 12 July 1408. Seal, missing.

604. Bond of indemnity of Robert, son of Thomas de Redych, to his sister Emma. 5 Nov. 1408. 2 seals (1 imperf., 1 missing).

605. Gift by Hugh de Rediche to his brother, Ralph de Rediche, of all his messuages, lands, etc. in the vill of Rediche, which he had of the said Ralph's feoffment. 23 May 1409. Seal, missing.

606. Gift by Ralph de Rediche to Robert le Whitehalgh, rector of Wynfeld, and Richard del Wode, of his manor [*torn*] and all messuages, etc. in the vill of Rediche, his mill in Denton, and all his lands and tenements in the vill of Wythynton. 24 May 1409. Seal, missing. Imperf.

607. Gift by the above Robert and Richard, feoffees, to Oto de Rediche, of their manors of Rediche and Heeton super Falghfeld, with appurtenances, their mill in Denton in the vill of Wythynton, and all their messuages, lands, etc. in the vill of Rediche and Wythynton; to have, etc. to Oto and his heirs male, with successive remainders to Hugh de Rediche, Christopher de Rediche, Bartholomew de Rediche, Robert de Rediche, Peter de Rediche (all brothers of Oto), Thurstan, son of Roger de Rediche, and William de Rediche (brother of Thurstan) and their respective heirs male, and to the rightful heirs of Ralph de Rediche (another brother of Oto). 24 June 1409. 2 seals (1 heral.). O.n. (4)

608. Bond of indemnity of Hugh de Arden, John de Arden, Thomas de Hyde, Hugh de Rediche and Robert de Radclyf, to Oto de Rediche. 2 Feb. 1410. 5 seals.

609. Bond of Margaret, widow of Ralph de Rediche, to Oto de Rediche respecting certain actions against him concerning the manors of Rediche and Heton and a mill and tenements in Denton. 28 Feb. 1412. Seal.

610. Bond of Christopher de Rediche, Bartholomew de Rediche, Robert de Rediche and William del Birches to Oto de Rediche to observe the arbitration of Nicholas de Longford, kt., John de Arden and Hugh de Rediche in a dispute between them. 29 Feb. 1412. 2 seals.

611. Bond of William de Honford of Chorley, Christopher de Davenport, John de Barlowe and Nicholas de Barlowe, John's son, to Oto de Redych. 22 Sept. 1429. 2 seals, missing.

612. Bond of John de Radclif of Urdeshale, kt., and Hugh de Redich to Oto de Redich that Joan, daughter of Thomas de Swynarton, wife of Thomas, son of Hugh de Redich, will keep the award of Edward de Trafford, John de Radclif of Urdeshale, kt., Oto de Redich, and James, son of John de Hulme in a certain dispute. 20 Dec. 1431. 2 seals (1 missing).

613. Lease for 10 years by Henry de Gorton to Richard de Redyche of all those lands and tenements which he formerly held by the gift of Oto de Rediche in the vill of Redyche, Heton super Fawfeld in the vill of Radclyf, and a mill and lands and tenements in Denton, co. Lanc.; rent, a grain of pepper at Christmas. 6 Sept. 1437. 2 seals, imperf.

614. Bond of Ralph Hide to Richard Redisse to keep the award of Lawrence Wardun and Thomas Assheton, kt., in a dispute between them. 14 Nov. 1442. Seal, imperf.

615. Gift by Ralph del Wode to his son, Oto del Wode and to Cecily, daughter of Alexander Grene, of 3 acres of land in a field named Fylotez Rydyng next to le Kylnebyght in the vill of Redyche. 20 Jan. 1444. Seal, missing.

616. Gift by the same to his son, Oto del Wode, of all those his lands, etc. named Fylotez Ryding and le Wete Ryding in the vill of Redyche, saving the above [615] 3 acres. 21 Jan. 1444. Seal.

617. Bond of Ellen Knollez and John Knollez, sen., to Ralph Wodd. 2 Aug. 1445. 2 seals (1 fragm., 1 missing).

618. Indenture between Ralph Wood, of the one part, and John Knollez, sen., and Ellen Knollez, of the other, setting out that the condition of the above bond is that John and Ellen keep an award of Thomas Assheton, kt., William Tabley, parson of Stockport, John Davenport of Bromall, Ralph Waren and Nicholas Davenport. 3 Aug. 1445. 2 seals (fragm.) (Eng.)

619. Bond of Robert Hilton of Hallywall and Robert Bolton of Litulbolton to John Redich of Redich, esq., for the said Robert Hilton to keep an award in a dispute between him and the said John. 29 May 1480. 2 seals.

620. Indenture of agreement between John Rediche, esq., and his daughter Joan, on the one part, and Robert Radclif of Mellour and his son and heir Robert, on the other, for the marriage of the said Joan and Robert the son. 31 March 1486. Seal (imperf.). (Eng.)

621. Bond of Robert Radclif of Mellour, Henry Stafford and Ralph Platt to John Redishe, esq. 31 March, 1486. 3 seals, imperf.

622. Bond of John Wode, son and heir of Oto Wode, and William Hulme, son and heir of Robert Hulme, to John Redych, esq., for the keeping of all the articles, etc. in an indenture of marriage between the said John Wode and the said John Redych. 20 March 1487. 2 seals, imperf.

623. Gift by John Wode, sen., gentleman, (son and heir of the late Oto Wode) to Margery, wife of his son John Wode, jun., of a messuage in le Aldenshaw and all those lands, etc. named Weterdyng and Kyttefeld in the vill of Redych, for her life. 15 Jan. 1495. Seal.

624. Gift by the same to Oto Redych, esq., William Hyde, Robert Radcliffe of Mellour, gentlemen, and Ralph Hulton and William Walker, chaplains, of all his manors, etc. in the vills of Redych, Mamcestr' and Ashton under Lyme or elsewhere in co. Lanc. 20 March 1498. Seal, missing.

625. Feoffment from John Wode, jun., son and heir of John Wode, sen., gentleman, to Robert Dokenfeld and Oto Redych, esquires, and Ralph Hulton, chaplain, to uses given in an attached document. 13 Feb. 1501. Endorsed: *Wood Hall, Redych.*

626. Bond of Alexander Barlow, gentleman, Roger Barlowe, his son and heir, Ralph Prestwich, son of Elias Prestwich, esq., and Richard Scotte, to Oto Redych, esq., for the performance of covenants. 22 Feb. 1503. 4 seals (imperf.).

627. Receipt of John Wode, sen., (son and heir of the late Oto Wode) and his son and heir John Wode to Oto Redych, esq., for purchase money for manors, etc. in the vills of Redych, Mamcestr' and Assheton under Lyme, co. Lanc., which Oto had of their grant and feoffment on 24 March 1508. 28 March 1508. O.n. (5)

628. Bargain and sale by John Wood the elder of Redich to Oto Redich, esq., of the manor of Woodhall with all his lands, etc. in the towns of Redich, Manchester, and Assheton under Lyme, co. Lanc. 11 Jan. 1509. Seal. O.n. (6)

629. Acknowledgement by Henry Legh, esq., son and heir of John Legh of Baguley, kt., of the receipt from Oto Redych of Redych, esq., of certain money for the marriage of John Legh, Henry's son and heir, and Margaret Redich, Oto's daughter. 19 April 1518. Seal, missing.

630. Indenture of agreement between Robert Redisse, esq., on the one part, and Oto Redisse, esq., on the other, for the marriage of Robert and Elizabeth, daughter of Oto. 11 Nov. 1521. Seal, missing.

631. Bond of indemnity of Oto Redisse, esq., John Redisse, gentleman, son and heir of Oto, Richard Holland and William Huyde to Robert Redisse. 14 Nov. 1521. 4 seals, missing.

632. Bond of Ralph Prestwiche, James Hulme and Thomas Chetham to John Redisse, esq., for the performance by Ralph of indentures between him and the above John Redisse concerning the marriage of Oto Redisse (John's son and heir) and Alice Prestwiche, Ralph's daughter. 24 Aug. 1531. 3 seals.

633. Bond of Katherine Redyche, widow of George Redyche, to John Redyche of Redyche, esq., for performance of covenants. 5 June 1533. Seal.

634. Bond, for performance of marriage indentures, of George Hulme, son and heir of James Hulme, and Margery Chaderton, daughter of Edmund Chaderton. 24 Sept. 1542. 3 seals.

635. Bond of Robert Dokenfeld of Portewood, co. Chester, to John Redich of Rediche, esq., to keep an award made in a dispute between them. 6 Dec. 1547. Seal, missing.

636. Bond of James Hulme of Radyche, gentleman, Richard Seddall of Hoygh in Manchester parish, yeoman, Randall Kenneon, yeoman, and Henry Baggeley, yeoman, to John Redyche, esq., for performance of covenants. 19 Feb. 1550. 4 seals.

637. Lease for 31 years by John Bull, gentleman, to John Rediche of Rediche, esq., of all the tithes of grain and corn growing yearly in the town of Rediche. 7 May 1550. Seal, missing. O.n. (12)

638. Bond of Thomas Hurleston, his son and heir Richard Hurleston, and Richard Shalcrosse to John Reddiche, esq., and Lawrence Asshaw, gentleman. 15 Jan. 1552. 2 seals (1 missing).

639. Feoffment from John Redyshe to his son and heir Oto Redyshe of all his manors, etc. in Redyshe, Crowsall and Heyton, co. Lanc., on condition that Oto grant the same to John before the following Michaelmas ; to hold for term of his [John's] life. 2 June 1554. Seal, missing.

640. Gift by the above Oto to the above John in fulfilment of the above. 6 June 1554. Seal.

641. Grant by John Rediche of Rediche, esq., to Robert Rediche, a younger son of his late son Oto, of an annuity for life issuing from messuages, etc. in Rediche in the tenure of William Nicholson and Robert Bordeman. 10 Jan. 1558. Seal, missing.

642. Indenture of covenants between Sir Robert Langley of Agecroft, co. Lanc., kt., and John Redyshe of Redyshe, esq., on the marriage of the said John and Margaret Langley, a daughter of Sir Robert. 24 Feb. 1560. O.n. (15)

643. Bond for performance of the above. 24 Feb. 1560.

644. Settlement by Sir Robert Langley in fulfilment of 642 above. 10 April 1560. O.n. (14)

645. Indenture of covenants between Sir Robert Langley, of the one part, and Edmund Trafford, Alexander Radcliff, Alexander Barlowe, Edmund Asheton and Edmund Prestwiche, esquires, to levy a fine to uses declared in an indenture [642 above] of 24 Feb. 1560. 20 July 1561. O.n. (16)

646. Bond of Luke Redyche of Rediche, gentleman, to John Rediche of the same, esq., respecting an annuity issuing from manors in Redyche and Crowsall granted by the latter to the former. 8 Oct. 1561. Seal, missing.

647. Schedule of a deed of feoffment to Francis Holte, Robert Holte and William Holland. [1561]

648. Bond of Reginald Nicholson of Rediche, lead beater, to John Rediche of the same, esq., respecting a moiety of a messuage with appurtenances in the holding of Otwell Rediche of Rediche. 17 July 1564. Seal.

649. General release by Francis Woode, late of Reddiche, yeoman, to John Reddiche of Reddiche, esq. 10 Jan. 1565. Seal, fragm. O.n. (18)

650. Indenture of agreement between John Redyche of Redyche, esq., and Margaret his wife, of the first part, William Kenyon of Manchester and Thomas Gydlow of Aspolle, co. Lanc., gentlemen, of the second part, and William Duckenfeld of Dukenfeld, co. Chester, esq., and Edward Holland of Denton, esq., of the third part, respecting the manor of Redyche and lands, etc. there and elsewhere in co. Lanc. 1 July 1567.

651. Indenture of agreement between the same parties to lead the uses of a recovery of the same. 1 July 1567. 4 seals. O.n. (19). With duplicate. O.n. (20)

652. Plea at Lancaster of William Duckenfeild and Edward Holland against William Kenion and Thomas Gidlowe respecting the same. 8 Aug. 1567. Copy. Paper, 10 ff. O.n. (21)

653. Assignment from John Rediche of Rediche, esq., to his son and heir Alexander Rediche of his term in the lease of 7 May 1550. [637 above.] 17 July 1568. Seal, missing. O.n. (22)

654. Bond of Henry Burgaine, cook, to Margaret Redyche of Rediche, widow, for performance of covenants. 30 Sept. 1569. Seal.

655. I.P.M. of John Redyche, esq., taken at Manchester, 19 Oct. 1569. O.n. (23). (See below 661.)

John died on 21 Aug. 1569, seised of the manors of Rediche and Overheyton super Faghfelde and messuages, etc. in Rediche, Heyton super Faghfelde, Heyton Norres, Manchester, Aldwynshawe and Crumsall, his son and heir, Alexander, being then aged 5 years 10 months.

656. Extent of the lands of John Reddish in the places set out in the preceding I.P.M. n.d. [c. 1569]. 1 f.

657. An inventory (mostly of the debts) of the above John Reddiche of Reddiche, esq. 10 Dec. 1569. O.n. (24)

658. Indenture whereby Margaret Rediche, widow and executrix of John Reddiche, esq., arranges for the payment to Edmund, George and Thomas, brothers of John, of certain annuities which he granted them. 3 Feb. 1570. Seal, missing.

659. Note of deeds, etc. received by Alexander Barlow of Barlow, esq., in trust for Alexander Reddiche, son and heir of John Reddiche, and others. 6 Feb. 1570.

660. Exemplification, at the instance of Richard Holland, esq., of an extent of 1346 showing that Richard de Radcliffe and Thurstan de Holland held land in Heton super Faghfeld in socage at 6s. 8d. p.a. 2 May 1577. Duchy seal. O.n. (1)

661. I.P.M. of John Reddyche, esq. [d. 21 Aug. 1569], taken at Wigan, 26 June 1578. (See above 655.)

662. Grant to Gilbert Sherington, esq., of the custody, wardship and marriage of Alexander Reddishe, the Queen's ward, heir of John Reddishe, esq., deceased, and of an annuity from certain manors, etc. in co. Lanc. 27 June 1581. Seal of Court of Wards and Liveries (imperf.). With extent attached.

663. The same. 4 Nov. 1581. Great seal (imperf.).

664. Account of Thomas Duddleley touching the wardship of Alexander Redyshe. 5 July 1582. O.n. (29)

665. Assignment from the above Gilbert Sherington of all his right, etc. in the custody, wardship and marriage of the above Alexander. 17 Aug. 1584. Seal, missing. O.n. (30)

666. Indenture of covenants preceding a grant of special livery to the above Alexander Redyshe, gentleman, son and heir of the late John Redyshe, gentleman. 27 Nov. 1584. 2 seals (imperf. and worn). With extent attached.

667. Grant of special livery to the same of all manors, etc. descended to him from his late father John. 11 Feb. 1585. Seal, worn. O.n. (31)

668. Indenture of covenants between Thomas Marland and Miles Marland, both of Assheton under Lyme, co. Lanc., yeoman, of the one part, and Alexander Reddyshe of Reddyshe, esq., of the other, for a conveyance to Robert Cheyton and Renald Nycolson, both of Reddyshe, husbandmen, of two messuages with appurtenances in Reddyshe. 1 May 1585.

669. Bond for performance of the same. 1 May 1585.

670. Feoffment from the same to the above Robert Cheyton and Renald Nicolson of the same. 4 May 1585.

671. Bond of indemnity of Ellis Sydall of Croomsall, husbandman, to Alexander Redyche of Redyche, esq. 9 July 1586. Seal.

672. Acknowledgement of indebtedness to Alexander Radyshe of Radyshe, esq., by Humphrey Dethicke of Newhall, co. Derby, for 160l., the remainder of the marriage portion of Katherine, daughter of Humphrey and wife of Alexander. 22 March 1591. O.n. (28)

673. Bond of indemnity of Thomas Collear of Hockerton, co. Nottingham, yeoman, to Alexander Redytche of Redytche, esq. 8 June 1591. Seal, missing.

674. Copy of an order in William Nichollson, plaintiff, v. Alexander Reddish, defendant. 22 May 1596.

675. Order from the Court of the Exchequer for the observance of a decision given on 3 Sept. in a case between William Nicholson, plaintiff, and Alexander Reddishe and William Cowdall, defendants. 4 Sept. 1596. Privy seal, missing.

676. *A note of Mrs. Kath. Redishe's debts.* n.d. [early 17th cent.]

677. Declaration by Richard Hildersam of Hatfield Broadoke, co. Essex, gentleman, that a lease to him by Alexander Rediche of lands in Rediche and elsewhere in Manchester parish was in trust for his brother Arthur Hildersam of Ashby de la Zouch, co. Leic., clerk. 1 July 1609. Seal.

678. Indenture respecting a grant of special livery to Grace (wife of Sir Robert Darcy) and Sarah (wife of Clement Coke, esq.) of all lordships which descended to them from their father Alexander Reddish. n.d. [1615/16.] O.n. (48)

679. Rental of Rediche, Croomsall, Prestwicke, Pendleburye and Tetlowe. 1590-1622. Parchm. roll. 4 mm.

680. Pardon to Edward Whitbye, esq., and George Ashby, esq., for alienation. 11 Feb. 1624. Seal. O.n. (50)

681. I.P.M. of Sarah Coke, formerly wife of Clement Coke, esq. 21 Sept. 1630. Seal (fragm.). O.n. (54)

HAND-LIST OF CRUTCHLEY MANUSCRIPTS 333

682. Assignment to uses from Robert Coke, second son of Clement Coke, late of Longford, co. Derby, esq., deceased, to Sir Edward Coke of Longford, bart., of the manors of Redich, Crumsall, Prestwich, Pendlebury and Tetloe, with appurtenances, and messuages, etc. in the same and elsewhere in co. Lanc., except messuages, etc. in Alkerington and Prestwich heretofore in the tenure of Robert Leigh, gentleman. 20 Charles I [1644/5]. Draft.

683. Plea of recovery at Lancaster by John Byrch, gentleman, and Edward Byrch, against Ralph Stopford, gentleman, and Adam Gartside, of the manors of Redich, Cramshall, Prestwich, Pendlebury and Tetlow, and messuages, etc. there and in Heaton Fawkefeld *alias* Heaton super Fawkefeld. 29 Aug. 1667. Copy.

684. Lease for 3 years by Sir Robert Coke of Longford, co. Derby, bart., to Oliver Tomlinson *alias* Bourehouse of Stockporte, co. Chester, butcher, of his capital messuage, etc. at Redish, with all appurtenances; with certain specified exceptions. 3 Feb. 1675. Copy.

685. Conveyance from Sir Robert Coke of Longford, co. Derby, bart., and Edward Coke of Stoughton, co. Hunt., esq. (his only brother), to William Fitzherbert of Tissington, co. Derby, esq. and Edward Wardour of London, esq., of the manors of Redich, Crumsall, Prestwich, Pendlebury and Tetloe, co. Lanc., Longford, co. Derby, Bornehall, Pannington and Werstedd, co. Suff., mills in Werstedd, Stoke and Ipswich, co. Suff., and messuages, etc. in the same places and elsewhere in cos. Lanc., Derby and Suffolk, to certain specified uses. 1 James II. [1685/6.] Draft.

686. Articles of agreement between Wenman Coke of Langford, co. Derby, esq., of the first part, Robert Hyde of Manchester, esq., of the second, Elizabeth Arderne of Manchester, spinster, of the third, and William Shaw of Reddish, yeoman, of the fourth, concerning premises in the occupation of the said William Shaw. 2 July 1772. Copy.

687. Statement of rents received by the Hon. E. K. W. Coke from the Reddish Estate. 1885-1887.

REPTON, co. DERBY

688. Award of William Fowler of Repton, gentleman, in a dispute between Peter Hough and Richard Feasand, yeoman. 31 Aug. 1671.

RODSLEY, co. DERBY

689. Bargain and sale by Mary Vernon of Sudbury, co. Derby, widow, and Edward Vernon, her son and heir, to James Browne and his brother Thurstan Browne, both of Marston Mountgomerie, co. Derby, of a messuage and 2 closes (Irelandes Croft and ley Fynney) in Roddesley. 17 March 1610. 2 seals (1 imperf., 1 missing). O.n. (99)

690. Indenture of covenants between Edward Vernon, esq., and his wife Margaret (daughter and heir of the late Henry Vernon, esq.), John Conwey of Marston Mountgomerie, co. Derby, yeoman, and Richard Bentley of Roddesley, yeoman, of the first part, and William Porter of Marston Mountgomerie and George Yomans of Roddesley, yeomen, of the second, and John Prince, James Browne, Thurstan Browne and others, of the third, to levy a fine respecting 3 messuages and a close called the Fynney in Roddesley. 2 Jan. 1616.

691. Bargain and sale by John Pollett of Kedlaston, co. Derby, gentleman, to Thomas Cliffe of Snelston, co. Derby, yeoman, of 4 closes in Rodsley called the Baylies closes. 20 July 1621.

692. Bargain and sale by James Browne of Marston Mountgomery, co. Derby, yeoman, and his brother Thurstan Browne of Hillesdale, co. Staff., gentleman, to William Challoner of Boylston, co. Derby, yeoman, of 2 closes (the Fynneyes and the Redd land) in Roddesley. 1 March 1634.

693. Final concord between William Challoner, plaintiff, and James Browne, his wife Joan, his son Richard, and his brother Thurstan, deforciant, respecting land in Roddesley. Quin. of Easter, 1634. O.n. (99). With counterpart.

694. Demise by Dame Katherine Coke, widow of Sir Edward Coke, late of Longford, co. Derby, bart., deceased, to Roger Jacson of Newport House in the parish of St. Martin's in the Feilds, co. Middx., gentleman, of the Fynneys and Redland (closes) in Roddesley, for 21 years, to the intent that he should lease them back to her [695 below]. 10 Oct. 1682. With counterpart. O.n. (92)

695. Lease for 20 years, three quarters of a year, 2 months and 20 days by the above Roger to the above Dame Katherine, of the same. 11 Oct. 1682. With counterpart.

696. Release by Edward Coke of Great Staughton, co. Hunt., esq., to Roger Jacson of the parish of St. Clement Danes, co. Middx., gentleman, of a messuage and parcels of land in Rodesley, a close in Langford parish, co. Derby, and two parts of a messuage in Hollington, co. Derby, with appurtenances. 23 June, 1685.

697. Release by George Vernon, esq., to William Bowyer of a messuage with appurtenances in Rodsley. 30 March 1689.

698. Conveyance from Arthur Bowyer of Roston, co. Derby, gentleman (son and devisee of the late William Bowyer), to George Brown of Ellaston, co. Staff., yeoman, of 4 closes in Rodsley called the Brand Woods. 6 and 7 April 1778.

699. The same from Abraham Hoskins the younger, gentleman, and James Matthews, farmer, to Thomas Smith of Rodsley, yeoman, and his trustee, of closes and land in Rodsley. 7 and 8 April, 1801.

700. Mortgage in fee by the above Thomas Smith and trustee to Daniel Goodall of Shirley, co. Derby, yeoman, of the same. 6 April 1802.

701. Confirmation by Mary Silcock, widow, John George Silcock, servant man, Ann Frances Smith, widow, and John Wayte the younger, yeoman, and Mary his wife, to the above Thomas Smith and trustee, of the same, with declaration of the uses of a fine. 31 Dec. 1803.

702. Will of Thomas Smith of Rodsley, farmer. 21 June 1810. Probate, 18 April 1812.

703. Lease for 21 years by the Corporation of Etwall and Repton, co. Derby, to Edward Coke of Longford, co. Derby, esq., of a messuage and land at Rodsley. 8 March 1811.

704. Transfer by Sarah Steeple of Shirley, co. Derby, widow, and Mary Goodall of the same, spinster (sisters and coheirs of the late Daniel Goodall), by the direction of Robert Steeple, farmer (executor of the said Daniel),

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and Thomas Smith of Rodsley, yeoman, to John Copestake of Wyaston, co. Derby, farmer, of the above mortgage [700]. 8 and 9 Oct. 1811.

705. Letter from Christopher and Elizabeth Wright to Thomas Smith at Rodsley. 13 Sept. 1813.

706. Transfer by the above John Copestake, by the direction of the above Thomas Smith, to Uriah Corden and Edward Corden of Clifton, co. Derby, gentlemen, of the above mortgage. [See 704.] 9 and 10 April 1819.

707. Indenture between Thomas Smith and Edward Corden charging the closes, etc., in the mortgage transferred above with a further sum. 10 April 1829.

708. Similar indenture between the same. 22 Feb. 1834.

709. Release by Thomas Smith of Rodsley, yeoman (son and heir of the late Thomas Smith), at the request of Edward Corden, to John Goodwin Johnson of Fenney Bentley, co. Derby, gentleman, to bar entail in the same closes. 24 April 1835.

710. Conveyance from the above Edward Corden, by the direction of Thomas Smith, to John Oakden of Rodsley, farmer, of the same. 22 July 1836.

711. Mortgage by the above John Oakden to John Mellor of Sheffield, co. York, grocer, of the same. 23 July 1836.

712. Abstract of the title of John Oakden to lands called the Brandwoods in Rodsley. 1839.

713. Conveyance by the above John Oakden and his mortgagee John Mellor to Thomas William, Earl of Leicester, of two closes in Rodsley called the Brandwoods. 21 March 1840.

ROSTON, CO. DERBY

714. Will of William Bowyer of Rossington *alias* Roston in Norbury parish, co. Derby, gentleman. 11 March 1760. True copy.

SHIRLEY, CO. DERBY

715. Conveyance from Edward Blake of Shirley, John Blake and William Blake, farmers, and their trustee Thomas Strong, to John Wright of Longford, co. Derby, blacksmith, and his trustee Edmund Evans, of a close in Shirley called the Moor or Rough. 11 and 12 Jan. 1787.

716. Will of Lowe Mills, gentleman. 10 July 1787. Copy.

717. Mortgage by the above John Wright and his trustee to James Brough of Langley, co. Derby, yeoman, of the above close [715]. 12 March 1813.

718. Assignment by the above James Brough, by the direction of the above John Wright, to William Fletcher of Tissington, co. Derby, yeoman, of the above mortgage. 11 Sept. 1819.

719. Deed of gift by John Wright of Shirley, blacksmith, to his son Samuel Thomas Wright of the same, farmer, of a messuage, with blacksmith's shop, etc., and land in Shirley. 5 and 6 April 1824.

720. Assignment by the above William Fletcher, by the direction of the above Samuel Thomas Wright, to William Pearson of Ashborne, co. Derby.

furrier, and the Rev. John Elleby of Melbourn, co. Derby, clerk, of the above mortgage [see 718]. 24 March 1825.

721. Mortgage by the above Samuel Thomas Wright to John Fox of Ashborne, co. Derby, gentleman, of the close called the Moor or Rough with the buildings thereon and all other his messuages, etc. at Shirley. 21 May 1827.

722. Abstract of Samuel Thomas Wright's title to messuages, lands and premises at Shirley. 1828.

723. Conveyance from John Harrison of Snelston Hall, co. Derby, esq., and his wife Elizabeth, Samuel Thomas Wright of Shirley, farmer, and Thomas John Mountfort of Ashborne, co. Derby, grocer, to Thomas Maskery of Norbury, co. Derby, farmer, and John Goodwin Johnson of Fenny Bentley, co. Derby, gentleman, of a messuage with blacksmith's shop, etc., and land in Shirley. 2 and 3 April 1829.

724. Abstract of Thomas Maskery's title to messuages, lands and premises at Shirley. 1840.

725. Conveyance from the above Thomas Maskery and his trustee to the Rt. Hon. Thomas William, Earl of Leicester, of the premises, etc. concerned in 723 above. 8 and 9 June 1840.

STOKE BY IPSWICH, CO. SUFF.

726. Court rolls of the manor of Goddlesforde. 22 Sept. 1600 and 12 May 1606. Parchm., 2 mm. O.n. (71)

727. Feoffment from John Sulyard of Wetherden, co. Suff., kt., to Edward Coke, kt., Chief Justice, and Robert Bullen and John Pepys, gentleman, of a marsh and land in Stoke by Ipswich, co. Suffolk, to the use of the said Sir Edward Coke. 30 July 1608. O.n. (36)

728. Final concord between Robert Bullen and John Pepys, gentleman, plaintiffs, and John Sulyard, kt., deforciant, respecting the same. Oct. of Mich. 1608. O.n. (39). With duplicate.

729. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by Henry Gawdy, kt., and Edward Paston, esq., against Edward Coke, kt., Chief Justice, respecting the same. 13 Feb. 1609. Seal, fragmt. O.n. (38)

730. Feoffment from the bailiffs, burgesses, etc. of Ipswich, co. Suff., to Edward Coke, kt., Stephen Allen, gentleman, and the heirs and assigns of the said Edward, of all the newly erected mills on the river on the west side of Bournbridge in Stoke by Ipswich and Whersted or elsewhere in co. Suff., the river and land where they are built, and that land covered with water called the Channell. 24 Jan. 1610. Common seal of Ipswich, imperf. O.n. (44). With copy and translation.

731. Letter of attorney to John Holland of Bramford, co. Suff., gentleman, and Thomas Sorrell of Whersted, co. Suff., yeoman, to deliver seisin to the above Sir Edward Coke and Stephen Allen of the same. 12 Feb. 1609/10. Common seal of Ipswich, large fragment. O.n. (45)

732. Exemplification of two writs to the sheriff of co. Suff. respecting the same parties and land concerned in 731 above. 23 June 1613. Seal, fragm. O.n. (48)

733. Bargain and sale by Thomas, Lord Windesor, Sir Nicholas

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Fortescue, kt., and Thomas Umfrevile of London, esq., to Sir Edward Coke of Godwicke, co. Norf., kt., Edmund Stubbe of Huntingfeild, co. Suff., clerk, John Pepys of London, gentleman, and Edward Wenyeve of Brettenham, co. Suff., gentleman, of the manor of Godlesford, a water mill in Belsted, and messuages, etc. there and elsewhere in co. Suff. 20 Nov. 1630. 3 seals. O.n. (57) and (58)

734. Final concord between Edward Coke, kt., Edmund Stubbe, clerk, and John Pepys and Edward Wenyeve, gentlemen, plaintiffs, and Thomas, Lord Windesor and Katherine his wife, Nicholas Fortescue, kt., and Thomas Umfrevile, esq., deforciant, respecting the same. Quin. of Martinmas, 1630. O.n. (59). With counterpart.

735. Pardon of alienation for the above Edward, Edmund, John and Edward, respecting the same. 26 Jan. 1631. Seal. O.n. (60)

736. Release by the above Thomas, Lord Windesor, Sir Nicholas Fortescue and Thomas Umfrevile to the above Sir Edward Coke respecting the same. 14 June 1631. 3 seals. O.n. (61)

737. Exemplification of evidences respecting the same. 2 May 1632. Seal, fragm. O.n. (62)

738. Pardon of alienation for Richard Knightley, esq., *cognatus* of Sir Edward Coke, deceased, respecting the same. 13 June 1635. Seal, large fragm. O.n. (63)

SWINTON MOOR, CO. LANC.

739. Articles of agreement between John, Earl of Bridgwater, of the one part, Richard, Lord Viscount Colchester and his wife Lady Penelope, Viscountess Colchester, Sir Robert Cooke, bart., John Dantesey, esq., Richard Norris, esq., Thomas Sorocold, esq., John Starkie, esq., Richard Valentine, gentleman (by Anne Valentine, widow), Edward Chetham, esq., Richard Edge, John Peake, John Lomas, all of Worsley, co. Lanc., yeomen, and George Ormerod of Mounton in Eccles parish, co. Lanc., yeoman, charterers, of the other part, respecting the enclosure of Swinton Moore and Hodge Common in the parish of Eccles. 31 March 1684. True copy, contemporary. O.n. (67)

TADDINGTON, CO. DERBY

740. Final concord between Thomas Bysshopp, gentleman, plaintiff, and Robert Reynold, deforciant, respecting 2 messuages and land with appurtenances. Morrow of Trinity, 1548.

THURVASTON, CO. DERBY

741. Gift by William Durdent of Thurvardist' to Walkelin, son of William Smith [*Faber*] of Brailisford of 2 selions of land in the fee of Thurvardist' with all appurtenances; rent, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. silver p.a. *Huius testibus Olivero de Doddingselis, Olivero de Coulont, Olivero le Fown de Holinton, Johanne de Seinquintin, Rogero clerico et aliis.* n.d. [13th cent.] Seal, missing.

742. Lease for 20 years by Nicholas de Longeford to Matilda, widow of Adam Bate of Thurvaston, of 2 acres, lying at le Brodegapes, and two parts of one half acre of land in Netherthurvaston; rent, 2s. 4d. p.a. 11 Nov. 1336. Seal, imperf. (Jeayes 2322).

743. Acquittance from master Richard Swyft, the King's carpenter, to Nicholas de Lenford, kt., for 4 marks (received at the hand of William de la Pole) due to him for the farm of a moiety of the vill of Thurvaston for Easter term last past. 20 March 1393. Seal, heral., (imperf. and worn).

744. Grant by Ralph Longford, esq., to Nicholas Brokeshawe of Brayllesford, yeoman, of the ward and marriage of George Bankes, son and heir of Thomas Bankes of Overthurvaston (which Thomas held of Ralph certain lands and tenements in Overthurvaston as of his manor of Longford by knight's fee and died in his homage). 12 March 1482. Seal.

TITHERINGTON, CO. CHESTER

745. Gift by Thomas de Worth of Tedrynton to Richard de Redyche and Robert del Byrches, chaplain, of all lands, etc. which he has in the vill of Tedrynton and all other his messuages, lands, etc. in the vill of Maculsfeld and Hurdesfeld. 28 Dec. 1400. Seal, heral.

TUPTON, CO. DERBY

746. Gift by Roger de Deyncurt, rector of Wynnefeld, to his mother Mary and his brother William, of all his land in Thopton which his father William had of the feoffment of Robert, son of Thomas Clerk of Thopton, and William de le Hil; yearly rent, to Robert de le Hil and his heirs 1d., and to Henry de le Hil and his heirs a rose. 10 March 1297. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 2409.)

WALTON, CO. DERBY

747. Will of Dame Elizabeth, Lady Ferrers of Walton, widow. 28 Aug. 1610. Seal, heral. Letters of administration granted to her daughter, Katherine Redich, wife of Alexander Redich, esq. 5 April 1611. Seal, imperf.

WHERSTEAD, CO. SUFF.

748. Indenture of agreement between John, the Prior, and the Convent of St. Peter's, Ipswich, of the one part, and Adam, son of William le Ken of Wersted, of the other, reciting that whereas they have demanded against him 4s. 5d. of annual rent and suit of their court of Paninton from three weeks to three weeks, they now grant him the tenement which he holds of them in the vill of Wersted, with all appurtenances, to have, etc. for ever, by the service of the above 4s. 5d., so that they cannot henceforth claim against him for the said tenement or the said suit of court, save for two appearances yearly. 25 July 1293. Seal.

749. Court rolls of Bornehall, 1276-1305. Parchment, 11 mm. Endorsed: *Edw : i. rott : ii.*

750. Gift by Mabel de le Pyrie, daughter of Richard de le Pyrie of Wehrstede, to Roger de Godelesford, of all her messuage in the vill of Wherstede with appurtenances. 6 Aug. 1307. Seal, missing.

751. Gift by John del Welle of Wehrstede to Henry, Prior, and the Convent of St. Peter's, Ipswich, for a certain sum of money given in gersum, of two pieces of land in the vill of Whersted, one lying in Langeslade and the other in Suthdonne called Eldereges. 24 Feb. 1316. Seal, worn.

752. Court rolls of Bornehall in Wherstead, 1311-1325. Parchment, 3 mm. Endorsed : *Edw. ii, rott* : 3.

753. Gift by Edmund, son and heir of Thomas le Hert of Shottele to Seman de Merihyl of Ipswich, his wife Avice and their son Thomas, for a certain sum of money, of all his tenements in Weristede with all appurtenances. 4 Feb. 1330. Seal.

754. Gift by Oliva de le Walle of Wherstede to the Prior and Convent of St. Peter's church, Ipswich, of all her heath lying between the oak-tree called le Kynggisok and the park of Holebrok, with all appurtenances, in the vill of Wherstede, and release of all her right in all those tenements which the Prior and Canons acquired from John de le Walle, formerly her husband. 12 March 1332. Seal.

755. Quitclaim by Richard de le Walle of Wherstede to the above Prior and Canons of all his right, etc. in all lands, heaths and tenements which they hold of the feoffment of John de le Walle, his late father, and Oliva, his mother, in the vill of Wherstede. 15 March 1332. Seal.

756. Lease for life by Henry, Prior of the church of St. Peter, Ipswich, and the Canons of the same to Richard de le Walle of Wherstede of a curtilage, with appurtenances, which formerly belonged to Robert Alisonn ; rent, 20d. p.a. 29 March 1332. Seal, worn.

757. Concession granted by John le Fre to the Prior and Canons of the church of St. Peter, Ipswich, in respect of an annual rent of 40s. due to him from them for life. 15 March 1340. Seal, missing.

758. Gift by Seman de Merihyl of Ipswich to Nicholas Bonde and Thomas de Rugham of all his lands and tenements with appurtenances in Wherstede which he purchased from Edmund Hert. 22 Jan. 1343. Seal, slightly imperf.

759. Quitclaim by Thomas, son of Seman de Merihyl of Ipswich to the above Nicholas and Thomas of all his right, etc. in the same. 25 March 1343. Seal, imperf. O.n. (840)

760. Court rolls of Bornehall, 1340-1347. Parchment, 13 mm. Endorsed : *Edw. tercii. rott* : 13.

761. The same, 1389-1400. Parchment, 2 mm.

762. The same, 1402-1404. Parchment, 2 mm. Endorsed : *Henr. 4. rott. 2.*

763. Gift by Avice Legy, widow of Roger Legy of Wherstede, to her daughter Margaret, wife of John Wysman of the same, of a piece of land with appurtenances in Wherstede. 20 Feb. 1413. Seal, imperf.

764. Court rolls of Bornehall, 1436-1458. Parchment, 2 mm. Endorsed : *Henr. 6. rott* : 2.

765. General release by Joan, widow of Richard Doket, to William Worshop of Ipswich, esq. 20 Oct. 1473. Seal, missing.

766. Court rolls of Bornehall, 1472-1489. Parchment, 5 mm. Endorsed : *Edw. 4. Rici* : 3 *et Henr* : 7. *rott* : 5.

767. The same, 1470-1506. Paper, 22 'skins'. Imperf.

768. The same, 1491-1507. Parchment, 10 mm. Endorsed : *Henrici 7. rott. 10.*

769. The same, 1529-1544. Paper, 10 'skins'. Imperf.

770. *Freholde and copyholde in Whersted belongeng to Bornehalle*. Paper, 2 'skins'. n.d. [early 16th cent.] With copy.

771. A particular of the manor of Burnehall. Paper, 1 f. n.d. [c. 1530]

772. Feoffment to uses by Robert Gray, gentleman, Thomas Barbor, clothmaker, and Thomas Cutler, merchant, all of Ipswich, to John Steward, beer brewer, Thomas Hoberd, smith, and William Wystowe, of a tenement, called Wagstavys, and Saykynes gardyn, with appurtenances, in Whersted. 14 March 1530. 3 seals.

773. Letters patent of Henry VIII granting to Thomas Halle, gentleman, the manor of Bournehall in Whersted, with all appurtenances, except the advowsons of the churches or rectories of St. Peter, St. Nicholas, St. Mary at Key, and St. Clement in Ipswich, and all lands, etc. in the same town. 22 April 1530. Seal, fragm.

774. Extract from proceedings at a court of Thoryngton Hall manor in Whersted respecting the admission of John Dey to a tenement and land in Whersted. 14 Dec. 1531.

775. Extract from proceedings at courts of Thomas Hall, gentleman, for Bourne Hall manor in Whersted. 23 [1531/2], 25 [1533/4], and 27 [1535/6] Henry VIII.

776. Final concord between Richard Wythe, plaintiff, and Robert Pesy and Joan, his wife, and Thomas Payne, deforciant, respecting a messuage and land with appurtenances in Whetstede. Oct. of Mich., 1542. O.n. (2)

777. The same, between Lionel Talmage, jun., gentleman, John Smyth and others, plaintiffs, and Henry Aylmer and his wife Agnes, deforciant, respecting a messuage and land with appurtenances in Tateston, Whersted, Bentley and Holbroke. Quin. of Easter, 1546.

778. Lease for 99 years by Bartholomew Halle (son and heir of Thomas Halle of Ippiswyche, co. Suffolk, gentleman, deceased) to Edward Grymstone of the same, esquire, of the Kyle House tenement, a salt marsh and land in the parish of Whersted *alias* Whetsted. 16 March 1549. With copy. O.n. (72)

779. Survey of Borne Halle manor in Whersted, 22 Nov. 1563 (ff. 1-43), with (ff. 51-54) a Rental of the same from Mich. 1564 to Mich. 1565. Book of 58 ff. (18 blank.)

780. Book containing (f. 1) *Manerium de Bourne Hall*. *The Spiritualltyes dewe to the Colledge*; (f. 7) *Frehould and Coppypould in Whersted belonging to Bourne Hall*; and (f. 9) *The Charter of the Towne of Ippsewich*. [Henry VIII's confirmation by inspeximus, copy.] n.d. [16th cent.] 18 ff., 9 blank.

781. Assignment by Edward Grymston to William Thorne of Whersted, brick maker, of his term in the above lease [778]. 8 Oct. 1565.

782. Assignment from John Byatt of Whipstead, co. Suffolk, haberdasher, to John Godfrey of Sudbury, co. Suff., of the same lease. 17 Feb. 1578. Seal, fragm.

783. Bond of Bartholomew Hall of Whersted, gentleman, and his son and heir Thomas Hall to John Hawys of Ipswich, gentleman, for performance of covenants. 15 April 1579.

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784. Letters patent of Queen Elizabeth granting to Bartholomew Hall, gentleman, the manor of Bournehall, with all appurtenances, except the advowsons of the churches or rectories of St. Peter, St. Nicholas, St. Mary at Key, and St. Clement in Ipswich and all lands, etc. in the same town. 23 Jan. 1585. Seal. O.n. (13)

785. Final concord between John Payne *alias* Blackpayne, plaintiff, and Bartholomew Hall and Thomas Hall, gentlemen, deforciant, respecting a messuage and land with appurtenances in Whersted. Oct. of Hilary, 1586. O.n. (15). With counterpart.

786. Notes respecting Bournehall manor. n.d. [c. 1586.] Paper, 4 ff.

787. Release by Theophilus Adams and Thomas Butler to John Payne *alias* Blackepayne of Whersted, yeoman, of all their right, etc. in land and premises in Whersted. 25 Sept. 1587. 2 seals. O.n. (16)

788. Feoffment to uses from Bartholomew Hall of Whersted, gentleman, and his son and heir, Thomas Hall, to Edward Grymston of Bradfeild, co. Essex, esquire, and Thomas Clenche of Creatinge All Saints, co. Suff., esq., of the messuage called le Kyll House *alias* le Tyle Kyll Howse and land in Whersted. 9 March 1588. O.n. (17). With counterpart.

789. The same, of the manor of Bournehall with appurtenances and all other the hereditaments of the said Bartholomew and Thomas in Whersted or elsewhere in co. Suffolk. 9 March 1588. With counterpart.

790. The same, of all those lands, etc. called Purchase Ferme, Caves closes and Busshey Lye in Whersted and Tadyngston. 9 March 1588. O.n. (17). With duplicate.

791. The same, of the messuage called Bootemans and land in Whersted. 9 March 1588.

792. Court rolls of Bournehall, 1567-1590. Paper, 15 'skins'.

793. Memorandum of a case between Thomas Hall, gentleman, a clerk of the Queen, of the one part, and John Payne *alias* Whyte Payne and Stephen Payne of the other. Trinity 1590.

794. Memoranda respecting non-payment of rent by John Payne *alias* White Payne to Henry Grimsey, bailiff of the manor of Bournehall. April-May 1590.

795. Lease for 21 years by Thomas Harper, citizen and carpenter of London, to Robert Goodwyn of Whetsted [*sic*], salt finer, of the Killehowse tenement, a salt marsh, and land in Whersted parish. 20 Nov. 1595. Seal.

796. Papers in a case between John Payne, husbandman, and Bartholomew Hall, gentleman, respecting certain parcels of land at Whersted. n.d. [c. 1600.] 8 items.

797. Demise by Thomas Hall of Culpho, co. Suff., gentleman, to Henry Grymsey of Bartham, co. Suff., husbandman, of a parcel of land in Whersted. 10 July 1602. Seal.

798. Assignment from John Payne of Wolverston, co. Suff., husbandman, to Thomas Hall of Culpho, co. Suff., gentleman, of a lease of a messuage called Ansys *alias* Amsys, in Whersted, and premises, land, etc. in the same. 29 Dec. 1602. Seal. O.n. (20)

799. Feoffment by the same to the same of the same. 31 Dec. 1602. Seal. O.n. (21)

800. Bond of the same to the same respecting the same. 31 Dec. 1602. Seal. O.n. (22)

801. Lease for 21 years by the above Thomas Hall to the above John Payne of the same. 1 Jan. 1603. Copy. Imperf.

802. Abstract of deeds relating to the same. 1579-1603.

803. Final concord between Edward Coke, esq., the King's Attorney-General, plaintiff, and Richard Brooke, gentleman, and Edena his wife, deforciant, respecting 2 messuages and land with appurtenances in Whersteade, Holbrooke, Tadington *alias* Taddeston, and Bentley. Quin. of Easter 1603. O.n. (23). With counterpart.

804. Feoffment from John Payne of Wolferston, co. Suff., husbandman (son and heir of John Payne *alias* Blacke Payne, late of Stoke by Ipswich, husbandman, deceased), to Henry Payne of Whersted, husbandman, of Holmeadowe in Whersted. 6 April 1604. O.n. (24)

805. Order for a general livery to Thomas Hall, son and heir of the late Bartholomew Hall, gentleman, of the manor of Bournehall with appurtenances. 2 May 1604. O.n. (26)

806. Indenture of covenants preceding the same grant of general livery. 20 May 1604. 2 seals, imperf. O.n. (27). With extent attached.

807. Bargain and sale by Stephen Legye of Holleslye, co. Suff., and Thomas Sorrell of Whersted, yeoman, to Thomas Hall of Culpho, co. Suff., gentleman, of closes called Hollmeadowe and Pyssye Feild in Whersted. 1 Sept. 1604. O.n. (28)

808. The same from Henry Payne of Whersted and John Payne of Wolferston, co. Suff., husbandmen, to Thomas Hall of Bornehall, gentleman, of Holmeadowe. 2 Nov. 1604. O.n. (29)

809. Bond of the same to the same respecting the same. 2 Nov. 1604. O.n. (25)

810. Final concord between Thomas Hall, gentleman, plaintiff, and John Payne and his wife Jane, deforciant, respecting a messuage and land with appurtenances in Wherstede, Bentley, Bellsted and Taddingstone. Octaves of Mich., 1605.

811. *A particular of the mannour of Bornehall in Whersted made XVII Junii anno 1606.* Paper, 1 f.

812. Feoffment by Thomas Hall of Whersted, gentleman, and his wife Elizabeth, to Sir Edward Coke, kt., Lord Chief Justice, and John Holland, gentleman, of the manor of Bournehall, etc. with appurtenances, and messuages, etc. in Whersted, Layham, Hadleigh, Erwarton, Freston and Holbrooke, co. Suff., to the use of the said Sir Edward. 1 April 1607. Seal. O.n. (30) and (31)

813. Exemplification of a final concord between the above Sir Edward Coke, plaintiff, and Thomas and Elizabeth Hall, respecting the same. 22 April 1607. Seal. O.n. (32)

814. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by Henry Gawdye, kt., and George Knightley, esq., against Edward Coke, kt., respecting the same. 13 May 1607. Seal. O.n. (33)

815. Acquittance by the above Thomas Hall to Sir Edward Coke, kt., for part of the purchase money for the manor of Bourne Hall. 19 May 1607.

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816. Record of first General Court Baron of Edward Coke, kt., Chief Justice, for the manor of Bournehall. 12 June 1607.

817. *Abstract of the Rolles of Bornehall for land in occupacione Reason* [a tenant] and . . . *Henrici Whetcroft, legum doctoris*. 12 June 1607.

818. Letter of Thomas Hall to Sir Edward Coke, kt., Lord Chief Justice, respecting the manor of Bourne Hall. 21 June 1607.

819. Exemplification of evidences concerning Sir Edward Coke, Thomas Hall and land with appurtenances in Taddington, Wherstyd and Bently, made at the request of the said Sir Edward. 9 Oct. 1607. Seal, fragm. O.n. (34)

820. Release by Thomas Hall to Sir Edward Coke respecting the manor of Bournehall, etc. 19 Oct. 1607. O.n. (35)

821. Exemplification of a final concord between Edward Coke, kt., Chief Justice, plaintiff, and William Barrowe, esq., and his wife Elizabeth, deforciants, respecting the manor of Wersted *alias* Whersted Hall and messuages, etc., with appurtenances in Suffolk. 23 Jan. 1609. Seal, missing. O.n. (37)

822. General livery granted to Thomas Hall, son and heir of Bartholomew Hall, of the manor of Bournehall with appurtenances in Whersted and elsewhere in co. Suff. 23 May 1609. Seal. O.n. (40)

823. Letters patent of James I granting to Edward Coke, kt., Chief Justice, Robert Bulleyne and John Pepis, gentleman, and the heirs and assigns of the said Sir Edward, the manor of Bournehall, Purcase farm and Tylekylne farm, both in Whersted, and messuages, etc. in Whersted belonging to the same. 7 James I [1609/10.] O.n. (41). Imperf. copy.

824. Final concord between Edward Coke, kt., Chief Justice, plaintiff, and Lionel Wythe and his wife Rose, deforciants, respecting a messuage and land with appurtenances in Whersted. Morrow of All Souls, 1609. O.n. (43). With counterpart.

825. Lease for 4 years by Sir Edward Coke, kt., Lord Chief Justice, to Robert Goodwyn of Whersted, salt finer, of the Killhowse tenement with appurtenances in Whersted parish, the herbage growing on a salt marsh in Whersted with a right of way to the same, and a pigtle in Stoke by Ipswich parish. 1 Nov. 1611. Seal, missing.

826. Exemplification of two writs to the sheriff of Suffolk respecting Edward Coke, kt., Chief Justice, Henry Gawdye, kt., and George Knightley, esq., and the manor of Bournehall and messuages, etc. with appurtenances in Whersted and elsewhere in Suff. 12 Feb. 1613. Seal, missing. O.n. (46)

827. Note to [Robert] Bullen concerning the discharge of certain issues from land of Thomas Hall. n.d. [1616]

828. Letter from Robert Bulleyn at the Inner Temple, London, to Thomas Hall, concerning the same. 8 Feb. 1616.

829. Court rolls of Bornehall in Whersted, 1613-1620. Parchment. 6 mm. Endorsed : *Jacobi i : rott : 6*.

830. *The Case for the Manor of Bornehall alias Pannington in Whersted*, parcel of possessions of the Prior of St. Peter, Ipswich. 1621. Endorsed : *For my Lo : Coke*.

831. Letter of James Lawrence to Sir Edward Coke, kt., touching the manors of Bornhall and Pannington in Whersted. 23 Sept. 1622.

832. Pardon of alienation for Francis Coke, kt., and Henry Curson, esq., respecting the manors of Bournhall and Pannington. 14 Feb. 1623. Seal. O.n. (52)

833. Lease for 11 years by Sir Edward Coke of Godwick, co. Norf., kt., to Richard Gooding and John Goodding [*sic*] of Wherstead, gentlemen, of the Kille Howse, a piece of salt marsh and land in Wherstead parish. 1 Feb. 1627. Seal.

834. Articles of agreement between Sir Edward Coke, kt., and Thomas Jonnynges of Wherstead, concerning Wherstead Hall and Borne Hall, with the lands belonging thereto. 2 May 1627.

835. Court Book of Bornehall in Wherstead, and of Wherstead. 1627-1640. Paper book of 25 ff.

836. Receipts to Edmund Stubbe, clerk, tenant of the manor of Godlesford, and Edward Cooke, kt., son of Clement Cooke, tenant of the manor of Burnehall. 1643, 1645. 6 items.

837. Court rolls of Wherstead, 1616-1661. Parchment, 7 mm.

838. Court rolls of Bornehall, 1597-1663. Parchment, 19 mm.

839. Release by Richard Taylor of Shrewsbury, Salop, gentleman, to Sir Robert Coke of Longford, co. Derby, bart., of the manors of Bornhall, Pannington *alias* Panniton Hall and Werstedd *alias* Wherstedd *alias* Wherestedd, with appurtenances, fulling mills and corn mills in Werstedd, Stoke and Ipswich, with appurtenances, messuages, etc. in Werstedd, Taddington, Holbrooke, Bentley, Stoke and elsewhere in co. Suff., for Sir Robert's life. 20 July 1674. Seal, missing. With copy.

840. Conveyance from the above Sir Robert Coke to Selby Mason of Chesterfeild, co. Derby, gentleman, of the same, to the intent that a common recovery may be suffered of the same. 1 Aug. 1674.

841. Indenture between the above Sir Robert Coke, of the first part, Selby Mason of the second, and Richard Taylor, of the third, to lead the use of a common recovery of the same. 20 Aug. 1674.

842. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by Arthur Lowe, gentleman, against Selby Mason, gentleman, of the same. 28 Nov. 1674. Copy.

843. Agreement between Roger Jackson of the parish of St. Martins in the Fields, co. Middx., gentleman, and Sir Robert Coke, bart., respecting a mortgage by the latter to the former. 26 Nov. 1677. With duplicate and receipt respecting the same.

844. Mortgage by Sir Robert Coke of Longford, co. Derby, bart., and Edward Coke of Stoughton, co. Hunt., esq., his brother, to Roger Jacson of the parish of St. Martins in the Feilds, co. Middx., gentleman, and Richard Mulys of the same, esq., of the manors, etc. concerned in 839 above. 10 and 11 Feb. 1677/8. With 3 declarations respecting the same.

845. Assignment from John Loyd of the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, co. Middx., esq., to Roger Jackson, gentleman, of a Statute Merchant. 12 Feb. 1679/80. Counterpart. With copy.

846. Bond of indemnity of Sir Robert Coke to Roger Jacson. 12 Feb. 1680/81. With receipt.

847. Similar bond to Richard Mulys of the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, co. Middx., esq. 12 Feb. 1680/81.

848. Mortgage by Sir Edward Coke of Langford, co. Derby, bart., (brother and heir of the late Sir Robert Coke), to the above Roger Jacson of the manors, etc. concerned in the above mortgage [844], together with the manor of Beauchamstead *alias* Bechamstead in Great Staughton parish, and all other his messuages, etc. in Great Staughton or elsewhere in co. Hunt. 16 Jan. 1691. With counterpart.

849. Declaration of trust from the above Roger Jackson to the above Richard Mulys respecting the above mortgage. 18 Jan. 1691.

850. Agreement between Sir Edward Coke, bart., and George Jackson, sole executor of the late Roger Jackson, respecting the above mortgage [848]. 24 May 1695.

851. Assignment from Samuel Benson of London, gentleman, and his wife Elizabeth, by the direction of Sir Edward Coke, to Mary, Countess Fauconberg and Sir Thomas Frankland of Thirkleby, co. York, bart., of the above mortgage [848]. 28 and 29 Sept. 1702.

852. Grant and release by Mary, Countess Fauconberg, by the direction of Anne Jacson of Derby, widow of Dr. George Jacson (executor of the late Roger Jacson) to Sir Edward Coke, bart., of the Suffolk portion of the estate assigned above [851]. 2 and 3 Sept. 1712.

853. Court rolls of the manors of Bornehall, Wherstead Hall and Godlesford, co. Suff. 1693-1717. Parchment, 18 skins. O.n. (74)

854. Court rolls of Bornehall and Godlesford, co. Suff. 1717 and 1721. Parchment, 2 mm.

WILLISHAM, CO. SUFF.

855. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by Milo Blunt and William Dethicke, gentlemen, against Thomas Windesor, kt., Lord Windesor, respecting the manors of Willisham, Taston Hall and Godlesford Canon Lee with appurtenances and messuages, etc. in Willisham, Sproughton, Belsted, Whetsted, Dormesden and Barkinge. 17 May 1613. Seal, fragm. O.n. (47)

856. Indenture of covenants between Sir Thomas Windesor, kt., Lord Windesor, of the one part, and William, Lord Paget, Baron of Bewdsart, Sir Nicholas Fortescue, kt., and others, of the other, to declare the uses of recoveries of the above manors, etc. in co. Suff., and of the manor of Towersey and messuages, etc. in Towersey and Kingsey, co. Buck. 20 May 1623. O.n. (54). True copy.

857. Bargain and sale by the same (Thomas, Lord Windesor) to the same, of the manors of Willisham, Taston Hall and Godlesford Canon Lee, messuages, etc. in Willisham, Dormesden, Barkinge, Sproughton, Belsted and Whetsted, co. Suff., Canons *alias* Canons Hall and the rectory and advowson of the parsonage of Willisham, with appurtenances. 20 Aug. 1624. Seal. O.n. (55)

858. Feoffment by the Rt. Hon. Lord William Howard, Nicholas Barnesley of Bordesley, co. Worc., esq., and Edward Cookes of Tardebigge, co. Worc., esq. (surviving executors of Henry, late Lord Windsor, deceased), and John Thatcher, esq., by the appointment of Thomas, Lord Windsor, to Sir Nicholas Fortescue, and Thomas Umfrevile of London, esq., of the same. 27 June 1629. O.n. (56)

WINGFIELD NORTH, CO. DERBY

859. Sale by Sir Ralph Longforde of Longforde, co. Derby, kt., to Sir Godfrey Foliambe of Waltone, co. Derby, kt., of his woods in Northe Wynfelde parish called Allwod Closes, and his woods in Brampton parish, co. Derby, called Saynt Mary Greyve, saving 40 standels; to have Allwod Closes until 3 May 1533 and Saynt Mary Greyve for 4 years. 4 June 1532. Seal. O.n. (25)

860. Bargain and sale by Nicholas Longford of Longford, co. Derby, esq., to John Breylsford of Northwynfelde, yeoman, of a messuage with appurtenances in the parish of Northwynfelde. 20 Jan. 1575. Seal.

861. Bargain and sale by the same to Sir Francis Leek, kt., of 2 messuages with appurtenances in Northwynfelde. 8 May 1575.

862. Bargain and sale by the same to George, Earl of Shrewsbury of the house called Parkehouse *alias* Parkehall, the wood, etc., called Coatwood and Coatwood Lawnd, both in Northwingfeld parish, messuages, etc. in Northwingfeld, Pillesley, Morton, and elsewhere in cos. Derby and Nott., and the moiety of the advowson of the churches of Northwingfeld, Morton and Pinkeston. 24 June 1577. Seal.

863. Confirmation by the same to the same of the same. 20 July 1577. Seal. O.n. (101). Counterpart.

864. Acknowledgement by the same to the same of the receipt of consideration money mentioned in the same. Seal, fragm. 11 Oct. 1577.

865. Indenture of defeasance respecting the same. 10 Jan. 1578. O.n. (35)

866. Acknowledgement by the above Nicholas Longford of the receipt of consideration money mentioned in the above bargain and sale [862]. 2 April 1578. Seal, imperf.

867. The same. 14 Oct. 1578. Unsealed and unsigned.

868. The same. 21 Dec. 1578. Seal, fragm.

869. Acknowledgement by George, Earl of Shrewsbury, that he has received of Nicholas Longford a writing containing the form of the latter's Will respecting the above [862] house, lands, etc. 21 Dec. 1578. Seal. Counterpart.

870. Release by the above Nicholas to the above Earl of Shrewsbury of all his right, etc. in the same house, etc. 21 Dec. 1578. Seal, worn.

WITHINGTON, CO. LANC.

871. Indenture tripartite between Sir Robert Cecyll, kt., Hugh Beeston, Michael Hicks, esquires, and Humphrey Flint, yeoman, of the first part, Nicholas Longforde of Longford, co. Derby, esq., of the second, and Thomas Markham of Kirkbye Bellars, co. Leic., esq., Margaret his daughter, and others, of the third, for the performance of covenants respecting the manors of Withington and Hough, the capital messuage called the Houghe, and messuages, etc., belonging to the same in co. Lanc., and for settling the manor of Longford, the advowson of Longford rectory and messuages, etc. in co. Derby, upon the marriage of Nicholas and Margaret. 30 July 1595. O.n. (49)

872. Power of attorney from Katherine Rediche, widow of Alexander

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Rediche and administratrix of the late Elizabeth, Lady Ferrers, to William Cowdall, gentlemen, to enter the manors of Withington and Houghe, the capital messuage called the Houghe, and messuages, etc. in co. Lanc., belonging to the same. 1 Aug. 1615. Seal.

WORSLEY, CO. LANC.

873. Gift by Richard, son of Elias de Wrketisleh to Adam de Penulberi of all his land of Norhdene with appurtenances. *Hiis testibus Rogero de Medilton, Galfrido de Buron, Alexandro de Pulkinton, Ricardo de Hulton et Roberto fratre eius, Ade de Hurmiston, Rogero de Wrkisleh, Rogero clerico de Heton et quibusdam aliis.* n.d. [early 13th cent.] Copy.

874. Gift by Geoffrey, lord of Wyркеd' to his daughter Agnes of a portion of his land in Wyркеd' called le feney; rent, a pair of white gloves yearly at Michaelmas. *Hiis testibus domino Galfrido de Chetham, domino Hugone rectore ecclesie de Staned', Ade de Bur', Radulfo de Staned', Thoma de Prestwyche, Rogero de Pennybur', David de Hulton et Alexandro de Pylkynton et aliis.* n.d. [c. 1254/68.] Seal, missing.

875. Gift by Roger, son of Adam de Penulberi to Adam de Prestwiche of all his land of Northdene within certain specified bounds. *Hiis testibus domino Johanne de Buron, domino Henrico de Bury, Henri[co] de Trafford, Roberto de Sohersworth, etc.* n.d. [temp. Edw. I.] Copy.

YEAWELEY, CO. DERBY

876. Indenture of agreement between Robert Hope and Godfrey Meinhill, gentlemen, of the one part, and John Peate of Bubton, co. Derby, yeoman, of the other, declaring the uses of a fine respecting messuages, etc. in Yeeveley, Wiaston, Roddisley, Bubton and elsewhere in co. Derby. 30 Nov. 1635.

877. Receipt of Margaret Heald of Yeavely, spinster, to Robert Heald, yeoman, for a legacy left her by the late Laurence Cliffe. 7 Oct. 1678.

878. Similar receipt of Thomas Heald of Yeavely. 20 Feb. 1679.

879. Release by Jane Heald of Yeavely, widow, to Robert Heald, yeoman, of all her right, etc. in certain unspecified goods and chattels. 28 Dec. 1685.

THE CLARKE PAPERS

880. Bond of indemnity of Edward Coke of Longford, bart., to Roger Jackson of the parish of St. Clement Danes, co. Middlesex. 10 May 1691. Endorsed: No. (1)

881. Will of Cornelius Clarke of Norton, co. Derby, esq. 1 June 1694. Codicil, 5 May 1696. Endorsed: No. (2).

882. Account of John Hayne of money received and put out at interest for Madam [Catherine] Clarke. 12 Nov. 1703. Endorsed: No. (3).

883. Receipt from the same to the same. 17 Aug. 1709. Endorsed: No. (7).

884. *An account made to Madam Clarke by Jn^o. Hayne about her concerns wth Mr. Jn^o. Beresford.* 3 Nov. 1710. Endorsed: No. (8).

885. Note from Catherine Clarke to Mr. Fytche respecting lottery tickets. 2 Dec. 1712. Endorsed: No. (38).

886. Bond of indemnity of Joseph Coxe of Culland, co. Derby, yeoman, and John Beresford of Marson Mongombury, co. Derby, yeoman, to Catherine Clarke of Longford, co. Derby, widow (of Cornelius Clarke, late of Norton, co. Derby). 4 Feb. 1713. Endorsed : No. (9).

887. Will of the above Catherine Clarke. 5 March 1713/14. Endorsed : No. (10).

888. Certified copy of a new will of the same. 5 June 1714. Endorsed : No. (12).

889. Deed of revocation by the same of authority given by her to Thomas Goodwyn of Derby, esq., to be her agent. 9 June 1714.

890. Power of attorney from the same to the Rev. Luke Budworth, vicar of Longford, co. Derby, to receive from Thomas Goodwyn her will and other writings. 9 June 1714. Endorsed : No. (14).

891. Letter from the same to Mrs. Goodwin respecting the non-delivery of the above will and writings. 16 June 1714. Endorsed : No. (15). With copy.

892. Bill of complaint by the same against Thomas Goodwyn respecting the non-delivery of the above will and writings. 29 June 1714. Endorsed : No. (16).

893. Account Book of Catherine Clarke, 1713-1714. 28 ff., of which ff. 2-27 are blank. Endorsed : No. (34).

894. Note of the case of Catherine Clarke against Thomas Goodwin. 1714.

895. Three letters, with enclosures, from Thomas Goodwin to the Rev. Luke Budworth, touching the above case. Jan. 1714/(15). Endorsed : No. (30).

896. Miscellaneous papers, mostly drafts, relating to the same. 1714/15. 18 items.

897. Testimonial by Catherine Slater relating to Catherine Clarke's "new will" [888 above]. 26 Feb. 1714/(15). Endorsed : No. (17).

898. Similar testimonial of the Rev. Luke Budworth. 26 Feb. 1714/(15). Endorsed : No. (18).

899. Similar testimonial by Richard Peacock, sen., Richard Peacock, jun., and Thomas Hudson. 1714/(15). Endorsed : No. (19).

900. Similar testimonial by Mary Skrymsher. 26 Feb. 1714/(15). Endorsed : No. (20).

901. Accounts relating to Catherine Clarke and Thomas Goodwin, 1713/14. Endorsed : No. (21), and *Goodwin's account examind*, 1715.

902. Account Book of Catherine Clarke, Nov. 1713-March 1715 ; an octavo book of 36 ff., of which 12 are blank. Endorsed : No. (35).

903. *Acct. of London Expenses* [of Sir Edward Coke], Feb. 1714-May 1715 ; an octavo book of 12 ff.

904. Testimonial relating to the above case. 2 June 1715.

905. *A Bill of disbursements in the busines between Mad^m. Clarke and Mr. Goodwyn*. 10 June 1715.

906. Note by John Hayne respecting the same. 14 June 1715.

907. *Mr. Goodwin's Accompts with Sir Edward Coke, Bart., Executor (and brother) of the last Will of Mad^m. Catherine Clarke, deceased*. 20 June 1715. Endorsed : No. (22).

908. General release by Thomas Goodwin to Sir Edward Coke relating to the executorship of the late Catherine Clarke. 20 June 1715. Endorsed : No. (23).

909. Covenant of the same to the same relating to the same. 20 June 1715. Endorsed : No. (24).

910. A valuation of jewelry of Catherine Clarke, deceased. 2 August 1715. Endorsed : No. (31).

911. Bond of William Coke of Trusley, co. Derby, esq., to Edward Coke, bart., and John Fitzherbert, esq. (executors of the late Catherine Clarke), respecting a legacy made by the said Catherine to her god-daughter, Catherine Coke, eldest daughter of the said William Coke. 13 April 1716. Endorsed : No. (25).

912. Bond of Thomas Goodwin of Derby, esq., to the above two executors, respecting similar legacies to his daughters Matilda and Jane Goodwin. 13 April 1716. Endorsed : No. (26).

913. Similar bond by Charles Byrch of Longford, co. Derby, clerk, respecting legacies to his daughters Mary, Dorothy, and Martha Byrch. 14 April 1716. Endorsed : No. (27).

914. Similar bond by Richard Coke of Trustley, co. Derby, esq., respecting a legacy to his son Edward Coke. 17 April 1716. Endorsed : No. (28).

915. Assignment by Sir Edward Coke and Robert Shaw, yeoman, to Henry Rutter of Worksopp, co. Nottingham, gentleman, of a mortgage to the late Catherine Clarke of land in Taddington, co. Derby. 12 May 1716. Counterpart. Endorsed : No. (29).

916. *The Acct. of ye Executorship of Mrs. Clarke, 1715-16* ; an octavo book of 24 ff. (paper), of which ff. 4v.-9v. and 13-21v. are blank. Endorsed : No. (32).

917. *Receipts for the paying of the funerall Bills and some of the Legacies of Madam Clarke, 1715 (/16)* ; an octavo book of 7 ff., of which ff. 6 and 7 are blank. Endorsed : No. (33).

918. *The Funeral Bills [of Catherine Clarke] and some Receipts of Legacies, 1716* ; a bundle of 28 items. Endorsed : No. (36).

919. Assignment by Sir Edward Coke of Longford, co. Derby, bart., to Richard Goodwin of Biggin, co. Derby, yeoman, of property and land in Darley Dale, co. Derby. 7 Nov. 1719. Endorsed : No. (39).

920. *A particular of all the writeings and papers in S^r. Edw^d. Coke's custody which belong to him as executor to his late sister Madam Clarke.*

GENEALOGICAL ROLLS

921. Roll of the family of Longeforde of Longeforde, to the 17th cent. With forty-one emblazoned coats of arms. Vellum, 3 skins.

922. *Genealogia antiquæ et preclare familæ de Redich. Necnon aliorum ornatissimarum familiarum quæ in eandem per nuptias heredum femellarum feliciter coaluerunt, viz. : de Langley, Dethick, Longford, Meynill, Rolleston, Euerden, De la Warde, Braytoft, Boteler, Solney, Savage, Hauerseggæ, Deincourt, Appleby, et quamplurimarum aliarum fundatissimarum familiarum*

eisdem nuptiis coniunct'. *Ex archiuis regiis et incorruptæ fidei monumentis dilligenter delineata.* Ends with Theophila, Edward [b. 1617] and Bridget, the children of Clement Coke and his wife Sarah, daughter and heiress of Alexander Reddish. With eighty-six emblazoned coats of arms. Vellum, 3 skins.

SUPPLEMENTARY DEEDS ¹

VARIOUS

923. Gift by William de Ferariis, Earl of Derby to Oliver, son of Nigel and his heirs of all the lands and tenements which Ralph le Foun, servant of the said William, gave to Ralph, son of Nicholas, uncle of the said Oliver, to hold to him and his heirs of the heirs of the said Ralph le Foun; rendering yearly to the heirs of the said Ralph le Foun 3s., according to the tenor of a charter which the said Ralph le Foun made with the said Ralph, son of Nicholas, respecting the said lands and tenements, which the said Ralph le Foun and his ancestors held by serjeanty of the said William de Ferariis and his ancestors. *Hiis testibus Roberto de Ferariis fratre meo, Willelmo de Ridewar', Henrico filio Sewall', Jordano de Toka, Willelmo de Greselec, Willelmo de Grendun', Willelmo de Warda, Roberto filio Walkelin', Radulfo filio Jordani, Hugone de Achovera, Johanne de Bakepud, Roberto de Dun, Willelmo de Stanton, Henrico de Denester, Roberto de Beaufei et multis aliis.* n.d. [late 12th cent.] Seal and counter-seal of William, Earl of Derby.

924. Writ to the sheriff of Derby to order John de Bakepus and Rohesia, his wife, to return to Oliver, son of Nigel, 4 bovates of land with appurtenances in Fulford whereof Oliver, his kinsman, whose heir he is, was seised on the day he died. n.d. [late 12th cent.] Copy.

LONGFORD, CO. DERBY, ETC.

925. Final concord between John de Saucheuerele and Oliver son of Nigel de Bubendon. n.d. [1197]. Seal of John de Saucheuerele.

For a fuller description see No. 182 above.

926. Gift by Michael, son of Nigel de Bubend', to Roheis, daughter of Oliver, son of Nigel de Bubend', his nephew, of 3 bovates of land with appurtenances which Oto his [Michael's] brother held in Bubend' of the said Oliver, whose heir Michael was, which bovates belonged to Ralph, son of Nicholas, their uncle, whose heir Oto was. *Hiis testibus Thoma Dispensatore, Hugone et Thoma filiis eius, Roberto filio Bernardi, Radulfo filio Jordani, Hugone de Mutt', Nicholao de Caflande, Johanne filio Herberti, Willelmo filio Terri, Nicholao de Thorp, Willelmo Foun, Roberto de Seile, et multis aliis clericis et laicis.* n.d. [late 12th/early 13th cent.] Seal of Michael, son of Nigel.

927. Demise and quitclaim by Henry, son of Nicholas de Maneteville to Nigel de Langheford' of all his land in Wodehouse; for which demise and quitclaim Nigel has given him 10s. sterling. *Hiis testibus Reginaldo de Karleol', Willelmo de Meduyl, Nicholao de Chaumbreys, Henrico de Brayles-*

¹ Deposited in the Library by Mr. Gerald E. V. Crutchley, subsequent to the main deposit. See above, Introduction.

ford, Michaelo de Langheford, Willelmo de Burghes, Willelmo le Burghemun', Engenulfo de Braylesford, Johanne fratre suo, Thoma Juvene, et aliis. n.d. [early Hen. III.] Seal, missing.

928. Grant to Nigel de Longeford and his heirs of free warren in his demesne lands of the manor of Longeford, co. Derby, and of Athelaxton, co. Stafford, provided that the lands are not within the king's forest. 9 June 1252. Great seal of Henry III, slightly imperf. ; in a red silk bag. (Jeayes, 1555 ; C.Ch.R., i. 393.)

929. Quitclaim by Robert de Ferrariis, son and heir of William de Ferrariis, formerly Earl of Derby, to Ralph Bugge, his heirs and assigns, of 20s. 12d. silver of an annual rent of 20l. silver which Ralph and his heirs render to him yearly for land and wood which they hold of him. 12 June 1262. Seal.

930. Grant to Nicholas de Langeford of exemption for life from sitting on assizes, juries, etc. and being appointed sheriff, etc. against his will. 20 June 1276. Seal, imperf.

931. Letter of attorney from Nicholas Longford, kt., to Thomas Fox, Richard Wode and others to deliver seisin to John, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Henry Pierpoint, kt., John Trafford, kt., William Dampont, esq., Robert Calverley, gentleman, and William Ryley, yeoman, of his manors, with appurtenances, of Longford, Parkhall, Pynkston, Normanton, Blakwell, Barleburgh, Kynwalmerssh and Hadersege, co. Derby, Baseford, co. Nottingham, Oreby and Wyllyngham, co. Lincoln, Hogh, co. Lancaster, Elaston, co. Stafford, and of all his lands, tenements, etc., in Longford, Parkhall, Pynkston, Normanton, Blakwell, Barleburgh, Kynwalmerssh, Hadersege, Bubton, Holynton, Mawemerton, Roddesley, Pillesley, Morton, Northwynfeld, Hasland, Dukmanton, and Brampton, co. Derby, Baseford, co. Nottingham, Oreby and Wyllyngham, co. Lincoln, Hogh, Diddesbury, Wythyngton, Rysshum, and Heton, co. Lancaster, and Elaston, co. Stafford. 6 April 1475. Seal of Nicholas Longford, kt., heral. (Cf. Jeayes 1601.)

932. Exemplification of letters of attorney of Nicholas Longford, esq., to Thomas Foster and Thomas Callowe, and of William Bassett, esq., and Thomas Fytezherbert, gentleman, to William Pytt, made at the request of the said Nicholas Longford. 8 June 1574. Seal, imperf. and unattached.

933. Admission of Zacharia Babington, clerk, Master of Arts, to the rectory of Langford. 9 Dec. 1594. Seal, imperf.

934. Presentation of Robert Smithe, clerk, Master of Arts, to the rectory of Langforthe. 4 June 1603. Seal.

935. Exemplification of two writs respecting Sir Edward Coke, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the manor of Longforde *alias* Langforde with appurtenances, messuages, lands, etc. in Longforde, Bubington, Thurvaston, Mamerton, Sherley, Hollington, Rodesley and Ardesley, view of frankpledge in Longforde and the advowson of Longforde church. 30 Jan. 1616.

936. Writ of execution in a case between Sir Edward Coke, plaintiff, and Richard Goodding and John Goodding, defendants. 24 Feb. 1628.

937. Letters patent appointing Edward Coke, bart., sheriff of co. Derby. 31 Jan. 1646.

938. Settlement before the marriage of Robert Heald of Bayliffe Closes in Langford parish, yeoman, and Jane Hall, daughter of Jane Hall of Radbourn, widow, respecting a messuage and the six closes known by the general name of Bayliffe Closes, in the parish of Langford. 5 Jan. 1686.

939. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by Joseph Scott and Joseph Hayne, gentlemen, against Francis Gregge and William Robinson, gentlemen, respecting a messuage and land in Longford. 28 Nov. 1717.

940. Plea of recovery by John Bateman, gentleman, against Henry Wilmot, gentleman, respecting land in Bubton and the parish of Longford. 28 Nov. 1751. Seal.

941. Plea of recovery by Edward Goodwin, gentleman, against Francis Fawkes, gentleman, respecting a messuage and land in the parish of Longford. 28 Nov. 1757.

MANCHESTER

942. Gift by William de Ferrariis, Earl of Derby, to Robert de Crometon', for his homage and service, of 40 acres of land nearest to [the land of] William de Cheteham and next to the land of William de Neuton', with appurtenances, rendering therefor to the Earl and his heirs the fortieth part of the service of one knight, for all service. n.d. [late 12th cent.] Seal and counter-seal of William, Earl of Derby. Endorsed: "*Tetlow*".

PENDLEBURY, CO. LANCASTER

943. Exemplification of depositions in Chancery in William Dautesy v. Richard Holland and others. 8 Oct. 1574. Seal, imperf.

WHERSTEAD, CO. SUFFOLK

944. Letters patent licensing John Payne *alias* Blackpayne to receive from Bartholomew Hall and Thomas Hall, gentlemen, a messuage and land with appurtenances in Whersted, held of the Queen in chief. 2 Dec. 1585. Seal.

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